JULY, 1935

SOCIAL SCIENCES

FIFTEEN CENTS

THE CRISIS

MARY McLEOD BETHUNE

(Twenty-first Spingarn Medalist—See page 202)

MISSIONARY RACKET IN AFRICA

By George Padmore

SWAN SONG OF DEMOCRACY

By Ernest Calloway

30—YEARS OF SERVICE—30

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A Record of the Darker Races

ROY WILKINS, Managing Editor
ADVISORY BOARD
J. E. Spingarn *Dr. Louis T. Wright* *James Weldon Johnson* *Lewis Gannett* *Walter White*

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THE CRISIS *was founded in 1910. It is published monthly at 69 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y., by Crisis Publishing Company, Inc., and is the official organ of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. The subscription price is $1.50 a year or 15c a copy. Foreign subscriptions $1.75. The date of expiration of each subscription is printed on the wrapper. When the subscription is due a blue renewal blank is enclosed. The address of a subscriber may be changed as often as desired, but both the old and new address must be given and two weeks' notice is necessary. Manuscripts and drawings relating to colored people are desired. They must be accompanied by return postage, and while* THE CRISIS *uses every care it assumes no responsibility for their safety in transit. Entered as second class matter November 2, 1910, at the post office at New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879, and additional second class entry at Albany, N. Y.*

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NEXT MONTH

The August issue will be the twenty-fourth annual Education number and will contain news about graduates and pictures. Information and photographs must be in THE CRISIS office by July 2.

●

Dr. Charles H. Thompson has a new piece on segregated schools in the August number. There will be also an article on attitudes on Negro college campuses toward social and economic problems of the day; and another giving some sidelights on the debates between Wiley college debaters and teams from mixed universities.

●

"How Far from Here to Mexico?" is the title of a piece by Sue Bailey Thurman which will appear next month.

●

From Paris Nancy Cunard sends comment on the London showing of "Stevedore," in which Paul Robeson played the lead.

●

In the next few months there will appear another article on the TVA by John P. Davis, who has just made a new tour of the Tennessee Valley for the N.A.A.C.P. in which he uncovered some new facts about the government's greatest rehabilitation project. Also a sketch of Howard Shaw, the young engineer in Chicago who has a lot to do with air-conditioning Pullman cars. Also a critical article on Negro health by Dr. Louis T. Wright. And a discussion of Benjamin Stolberg's article "Black Chauvinism," which appeared in *The Nation*, May 15.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

George Padmore is free-lance writing in Europe after having been editor of "The Black Worker." He lives in Paris.

●

John P. Murchison is assistant adviser on the economic status of Negroes in the Department of the Interior in Washington.

●

Isabel M. Thompson lives in Kansas City, Kans.

●

Ernest Calloway is a student at Brookwood Labor College, Katonah, N. Y.

●

Harvey M. Williamson, who lives in Cleveland, O., has written verse, fiction and articles for THE CRISIS.

●

William Pickens is field secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. and a frequent contributor to newspapers and magazines.

The Missionary Racket in Africa

By George Padmore

From Paris Mr. Padmore Sends the Readers of The Crisis Another of His Articles on Africa

"THE Cross now stands at the frontiers of Abyssinia, and soon it will march ahead of our gallant troops, the torchbearers of fascist civilization. Let no one seek to block our path." This is how Mussolini's official mouthpiece, "Giornale d'Italia," is trying to arouse the sympathies of the christian world for his imperialistic venture against the last independent black state in Africa. This, however, is not the first time that whites have cloaked their predatory designs against colonial peoples by exploiting religion. The British and the French are the past-masters of this art. While proclaiming that they were carrying the blessings of christianity and civilization to the blacks, they stole their lands. Not without reason, neither the Pope nor the Archbishop of Canterbury, the leading representatives of Christ on earth—for they are the heads of Catholicism and Anglicanism respectively, have raised their voices in protest against Mussolini, for they too have used the name of Christ in the services of capitalism.

The story of the conquest and annexation of Uganda, which lies to the southwestern frontiers of Abyssinia affords us a typical example of the role of missionaries in the service of imperialism. For this reason, we think it is opportune to tell it.

Socio-Economic Situation

But before doing so, let us say a few words about the socio-economic situation in Uganda, by way of introducing this far off African country to our readers. Uganda is one of the richest and most developed parts of Africa. Cotton is the principal crop; it is grown entirely by natives and exported to India and Japan. The country covers an area of 94,204 square miles of fertile upland agricultural and pastoral country, with many beautiful rivers and lakes, especially the famous Lake Victoria, one of the wonders of the world. The population numbers 3,497,650 Africans; 14,000 Asiatics, mostly East Indians, Arabs and Japanese; and 1,973 Europeans.

The social status of the various ethnic groups is determined not only on the basis of wealth and culture, but of race. Race is the most important factor. The government administers the country along racial lines. For example, although Indians are allowed to own land, a privilege denied them in many other parts of Africa, they are nevertheless not permitted to ride in the same railway carriages and sections of the ships that travel up and down Lake Victoria as white people. The same applies to the Africans. On the other hand, the Japanese who are Asiatics like the Indians, have the right of way. The white officials tried to also segregate the yellow men, but their Consul protested, and as Japan is a powerful world power, the British decided to respect her nationals in Africa. This is something for blacks to think about; for they have no rights even in their own lands. So much for general interracial relationship. Now let us get on with the main story.

Coming of the Missionaries

The British explorers, J. A. Grant and John Speke, members of Richard Barton's expedition of 1862, followed by H. M. Stanley in 1895, were the first white men to penetrate into Uganda. They were surprised to discover the high degree of cultural development in the country, especially in the states of Buganda, Bunyaro and Toro, the principal states which formed the empire of Uganda. These states are inhabited by a Bantu-Hamitic people of such remarkable intelligence, that John Roscoe, the famous British anthropologist, refers to them in his authoritative work on Uganda as "the Japanese of Africa."

Two years after the visit of Stanley to the court of Mutesa, the then king of Uganda, Protestant missionaries from England began to arrive in the country. They were soon followed by Catholics from France, known as the White Fathers, an order organized by Cardinal Lavigeric, and from then on, some of the most scandalous episodes in the history of foreign missionary activities in Africa began.

Protestants vs. Catholics

The Protestants who were bent upon winning over Mutesa to their brand of christianity in order to pave the way for the British imperialists who had sent them out to steal the country, organized themselves into a party called *Wa Ingleza* (the Englishmen). The Catholics were also determined to turn the old king into a good child of Rome and a better puppet of French imperialism, so they called their party *Wa Fransa* (the Frenchmen). A religious war was declared between these two sets of christians for the soul and body, but more important still, country of the king. But while they were intriguing against one another, Arabs appeared on the scene and joined in the squabble. As Mohammedans, they wanted Mutesa to become a believer in Allah. The old man was in a fix. On one hand, he was being offered a choice between two varieties of christianity, and on the other, Islam. What was he to do? As a man of tremendous common sense, he rejected them all, and died in 1884, proclaiming the ancestral faith. The death of Mutesa marked the first round in the struggle of the aliens for the favor of the Royal Court of Uganda.

War Breaks Out

Mutesa was succeeded by his son, Mwanga, who was just the opposite of his father—weak and stupid. He, however, had one strong trait, and that was a distrust for the whites, whom he instinctively realized were in Uganda for one purpose, namely, to steal his country. This distrust was strengthened by the fact that General Gordon, the famous Gordon of Khartum, was then overrunning the Soudan, and had his eyes southwards towards Uganda. Apprehensive of invasion, Mwanga closed the eastern frontier of his kingdom and gave orders to his soldiers not to allow any whites to cross the border. Although this instruction was well known to the missionaries, Bishop Hannington, the head of the Protestants, attempted to cross the frontier and was killed. This was a Godsend for the whites who utilized this unfortunate incident to foment trouble. The missionaries of both denominations made a united front, and organized all their native converts to launch an attack against the king. Mwanga retaliated and ordered his soldiers to slaughter all christians. The Mohammedans supported Mwanga, and in this way won his favor. The christians defeated, retired from Baganda into Ankole where they reorganized their forces and prepared a counter-attack against Mwanga.

The christian army was well supplied with arms by the British East Africa Company, especially an Irish gun-runner by the name of Charles Stokes, who was later caught and hanged by the Belgians in the Congo for supplying arms to the Arabs and natives to drive out the Europeans. Thanks to their superiority in arms, the missionaries and their black followers

(*Continued on page* 214)

The Negro and Low-Rent Housing

By John P. Murchison

Mr. Murchison is the assistant adviser on the economic status of Negroes in the Department of the Interior

THE National Conference of the Joint Committee on National Recovery, held in Washington in May, emphasized the plight of Negro domestic, industrial, and farm workers under the "New Deal." In several of its sessions, the "New Deal" was taken to task severely for its glaring failures or its inequitable efforts to include the Negro in its program to restore prosperity in the country. In some instances the criticism of the "New Deal" was quite justifiable. It should, in fairness, be pointed out, however, that the conference failed to touch on the brightest aspect of the whole "New Deal" program as far as Negroes are concerned—that of the low-rent housing program, where about 30 per cent of the total financial allotment to date for Federal low-rent housing projects has gone for the provision of Negro participation. The purpose here, consequently, is to show (1) what the low-rent housing program is and (2) the extent of the participation of the Negro in this program.

The Low-Rent Housing program is the first attempt to rid the country of slum areas and bad housing, which has existed all over the country since houses were first built in the United States. This program differs from the low-cost housing program of the Federal Housing Administration in that the FHA program is primarily in behalf of owners and prospective owners, while the Emergency Housing Division program is primarily in behalf of low-income tenants. Prior to the "New Deal" housing program, as was pointed out in my article, "Providing Homes for the People," in the September, 1932, issue of the *American Economic Review*, the construction of suitable housing on a commercial basis was almost exclusively a response to the demand provided by the top economic third of the population. New housing of an acceptable type was too expensive for two-thirds of the American people. By reducing the cost of finance, by insuring and combining first and second liens, and by extending the amortization period, the FHA has provided a substantial increase in the demand for suitable housing.

Up to the present time, however, the FHA program has been handicapped by the slowness of banks to lend on notes secured by mortgages. This slowness has resulted primarily because banks have no outlet for the sale or disposal of the mortgages after they have made them. This fact largely accounts for the very little assistance that has been given Negroes under the FHA program. The Banking Act of 1935, which in its present form would make it possible for the Federal Reserve System to rediscount notes secured by real estate mortgages, perhaps will solve this problem.

For Low-Income Group

With the FHA and other profit-making programs in smooth, unhampered operation, there still will remain, even in normal times, approximately one-third of the population who will be unable to purchase or even rent suitable houses. Housing this group acceptably is permanently removed from the field of profit-making. The Low-Rent Housing program is designed to accommodate those of this group with annual incomes that average from $600 to $1000, those now living in structures and areas that are not only a menace to the occupants but also to the municipalities in which they are found and finally to the whole country.

The limited appropriation under the present set-up makes it possible to build a few demonstration projects only; but it is believed that these will point the way to large-scale mass planning and construction in the near future by the municipalities themselves and by public housing authorities. In fact, the Division has attempted from the very beginning of its program to encourage local study and promotion of low-rent housing. Where a city or housing authority is legally empowered to prepare and carry out well-considered projects of low-rent housing, the Division is particularly interested to find ways by which such projects can be helped financially and otherwise. The same is true in instances where for the time being a city has not the legal power, but will agree to make every effort to secure satisfactory enabling legislation for the future.

The Real Property Inventory, including both owned and rented houses, recently made by the U. S. Department of Commerce of 64 typical cities, revealed that 23.3% of all dwellings covered were without either bath tubs or showers, that 17.19 were without private indoor water toilets, that 9% were without electricity or gas for lighting, and that 8% were without running water. These percentages run much higher for rented houses. Studies by the Housing Division of blighted and slum areas proposed for projects have shown, as is to be expected, much higher percentages of insanitary conditions. The general picture of the slum problem was pithily painted by Horace W, Peaslee, Chief Economic Analyst of the Housing Division, when he said before the New England Conference on Slum Clearance and Low-Rent Housing:

One-third in Hovels

"One-third of our countrymen are living in scattered hovels, in cluttered shacks, in the squalid flats of congested centers, with common toilets, with dark rooms or fetid shafts; we know from statistics that they are easy victims of chronic ailment and devastating disease, contributing to juvenile delinquency, to gang crime, to gang politics. Such is the slum problem."

Before turning back to the low-rent program, let us take a glance at the general housing situation among Negroes in the low-income groups in the country. The Negro generally has been more adversely affected by bad housing than has any other group. There have never been enough houses of acceptable quality for him. His proverty has forced him to live in sections of very low-priced dwellings which are either in a state of deterioration or have already become slums. Although there are notable differences in wealth, architecture, accessibility of buildings, and in the rates and direction of urban expansion between the North and the South, the same cycles of property use are found in both sections. Each section generally has its distinct Negro areas, which generally are slum areas. However, due to the migration of the Negro from the agricultural areas to northern industrial centers, the problem generally is perhaps more acute in the North than in the South. Whereas the many deserted rural shacks in the South are due to the decrease in Negro population, the use of out-worn and deteriorated structures in the North generally is due to an increase in population. Where these populations have been increased, there has been a lack of even unacceptable housing, with consequent congestion, unhealthful living conditions and generally high rents. While Memphis and New Orleans have their "Arks"—two-story structures with sixteen or more Negro families on each floor, where each family lives in a single room entered from a balcony hanging miraculously to the side of the building, where water is obtained from a single spigot in a muddy yard, the same yard which contains the common privy, Philadelphia has its "band-box" houses—three

small rooms arranged vertically, with a narrow, spiral stairway in one corner, the only exposure on a narrow, frequently crowded alley. These descriptions are fairly typical of Negro slum areas in both the South and the North. Generally, however, there is greater congestion in the North than in the South. Woofter, in his *Negro Problems in Cities*, moreover, has measured the population density per acre in a number of cities as compared with the population as a whole to show the greater congestion of Negroes in small areas. For instance, the Negro population density was twice as great as the total population density in Chicago, two and one-half times as great in Buffalo and nearly five times as great in Philadelphia. A recent survey of a certain area in Harlem showed that there were four times as many Negroes in this area as could be properly accommodated. Without better housing for such inhabitants as these, the future increase in population can result in nothing but complete degeneration.

Negro Pays High Rent

Even under similar housing conditions, in many instances, the Negro pays higher rentals than other groups. This is especially true where the supply of housing facilities is scarce. Langdon W. Post of the New York Housing Authority attributes the higher rentals paid by the Negro in places like New York to the fact that the landlords recognize the Negro as a good tenant; and knowing that the residential areas for him are limited, they try to squeeze all that they can out of him. Usually these high rentals necessitate the taking in of lodgers, which act further aggravates the housing congestion. Moreover, it is not uncommon for Negroes to pay as much as 60% of their income for rent in many cities and areas where even poor housing is scarce. This drain for rent usually means for these Negroes an unhealthy, unbalanced family budget.

It is not necessary to go into a detailed analysis of the sanitary, moral, and aesthetic effects of such insanitary housing conditions on not only the slum area itself, but also the entire community. These effects generally are well-known; the financial costs of slums are not so well-known. Hence, in passing, let us take notice of the high cost in actual dollars and cents of these insanitary areas to municipalities. Just like other American rackets in which the individual, at the expense of the group, gets something for nothing, the renting of slum properties means excessive profits for the landlord. Cities, on the other hand, spend thousands of dollars each year for the upkeep of jails, hospitals, juvenile courts, fire stations, etc., in these areas. Generally these expenses exceed by far the taxes received from these areas. For instance, as pointed out by Secretary Harold L. Ickes in his address before the American Civic Association in Cincinnati on May 22, the situations in Chicago, Boston, and Cleveland are indicative of the tremendous drains upon American cities caused by slums. Chicago, in 1931, paid out $3,200,000 to provide routine municipal services for a slum area, but received only $1,191,352.28 in taxes from the area in this year, and only $586,061.23 in 1933. In other words, the actual tax receipts, after three years, amounted to only one-sixth of the expense. Boston, in 1934, paid out $310,624 to service a slum area and received from it only $44,800 in taxes. The loss on the area here was seven times the income. In a slum area in Cleveland the municipal expenditure recently amounted to $1,351,000 annually, with returns from taxes annually only $225,000. The loss on this area annually was about five times the income. In Indianapolis the "areas of greatest economic drain" on the city were mapped out. With only 10% of the population living in the areas, the areas absorbed 26% of all funds set aside for public service: 30% of the cost of municipal hospitalization, 25% of the budget of the Family Welfare Society, 19% of the cost of caring for the insane, and 16% of the total cost of fire protection. Thus, very stupidly indeed, slum areas are indirectly subsidized in most all cities in this country. No less stupid, it might be added, are those cities which will not spend a small proportion of such great outlays to eradicate permanently these financial drains.

Moreover, it perhaps should be added here that a city's housing difficulties frequently arise from the necessity of housing more people than its normal work opportunities can decently support. Where this situation is the case, the solution of the housing difficulty will more likely be found in the removal of the surplus population to centers where a decent living will be afforded than in building more and better dwellings for these people where they are. Federal low-rent housing planning, therefore, should be closely coordinated with Federal resettlement planning.

Wage of $17.50

In the building of decent low-rent houses, the Housing Division of the PWA is pointing the way to the eradication of such costly slum areas. In this work it has taken into serious consideration the income and rent levels and the essential needs of the people occupying slum areas in the various cities that either have received allotments or now are receiving active consideration by the Division for low-rent projects. The Real Property Inventory revealed that the average rent paid by families in 64 typical American cities in 1933 was about $21 per month, that 57% of these families paid less than $20 a month rent, that the five-room rented house was typical for whites while the typical rented house for Negroes had but three rooms, and that 17% of the houses were overcrowded. It is quite safe to say that a much larger percentage of Negro-occupied houses in the country are overcrowded. A study of the 1930 census figures for the thirty-seven cities in which Negro projects have been proposed reveals that, even in normal times, in twenty-one of these cities fifty per cent or more of the Negro tenants paid less than $20 a month for rent, that in only eight of these cities was the median rental for Negroes as much as $25 a month, and that the median size of the Negro tenant families in these cities ranged from 2.24 persons in Minneapolis to 2.88 persons in Columbia, S. C., and Youngstown, Ohio. This means that on the average, the low-rent family unit probably will contain more than three rooms. Moreover, a recent study by the Women's Bureau of the United States Department of Labor shows that the average weekly wages of the low-income Negroes, such as those to be housed in low-rent projects, ranged from $17.53 in Newark to $7.62 in Jackson, Mississippi, for men, and $9.83 in Chicago to $5.01 in Jacksonville, Florida, for women.

To provide acceptable housing for these low-income groups, the Government may lower its interest rate from 4% to 3% and increase its outright grant from 30% to 45% of the cost of materials and labor for low-rent projects. This would make the construction cost of the average family unit, exclusive of land cost on the basis of present estimates, about $2,258 to cities and other acceptable agencies. The amortization period has been increased to 44 years and may be extended still further in the government efforts to provide durable and decent living quarters at rentals ranging from $3 to $7 a room per month. Under the new arrangement, the income groups which the low-rent program is intended to serve would be provided with acceptable shelter for about 25% of their annual incomes. This calculation is based on the assumption that these groups will be given full employment.

Moreover, where possible financially, projects will be built on existing slum areas, because at present many of these areas are reasonably well equipped with schools, fire stations, churches, water, gas, electricity, sewers, and other public services which should be salvaged. In some proposed project areas, however, the land prices asked in slum areas are so high that it is impossible to use these

(*Continued on page* 210)

Masquerade

By Isabel M. Thompson

". . . they learned the white man with whom they had to deal. They learned him through and through, and without ever completely revealing themselves."*

* * * * *

I WAS hunchin' maw an' pointin'. "Maw! Look, Maw. It's a-movin'!" An' sure 'nough, when maw look up, the magnoly tree in front o' the cabin was tremblin' like it done got chills an' fevah—but they warn't no air stirrin'.

Maw reach ovah to where I was settin' on the do'-step (I warn't but twelve then); she tech my shouldah, an' says low an' kinda shaky, "Hattie, honey, they's somep'n in the air."

Then I sho did feel funny. Wondah if maw was readin' my min'. 'Cause I jus' been sayin' to myself, "I cain't figgah what makes maw ac' so sot all time, like she's tickled to death with what we gettin' down heah in Miss'sippi. How come she don' jus' up an' tell the white folks that we's tired o' slavin' away fo' nothin'? Else why don' we pick up an' run away up no'th, like Birdie an' her maw done? . . . Co'se Marse Robert's good 'nough, but I wants to be free!" I didn' aim to say nothin' out loud, yet 'n still maw done tech me.

Right then a man drap down out o' the tree an' run up to us. He grabbed maw by her shouldah an' I was gonna hit 'im—but he whispahed so hoarse-like, "Maw Haney!"

An' maw, she say, "Jake! How come you ac' like this?"

"Maw, I'se gonna run away, but they's aftah me! Hide me 'way quick!"

We could hear folks a-talkin', an' they was three dogs a-barkin'. Me, I jus' stood there shakin'. But maw! You shoulda saw her. So calm an' peaceful, like we was jus' talkin'.

"Hattie," she say, "what you shakin' 'bout? . . . No, Jake, I ain't gonna hide you. Let's set down on the do'-step fo' a spell."

Jake didn' move from that spot. "Maw, is you crazy? Cain't you see they'll git me? I'd jus' soon be daid as to git cotched. You know what Green-Eye done to Slim t'othah day. Please, Maw!"

"Don' you trus' me, Jake? Don' I allus tell folks right—white folks an' ouah folks too?"

"Sho you does, Maw Haney, sho. Evvabody come to you with they troub——" Jake put his han' ovah his mouth. "Maw, I see the to'ch-light. They is almos' here. Help me!"

We could see one light, an' soon they was lots of 'em shinin' right on maw an' Jake. But when I looked at maw, seem like her eyes was givin' off mo' shine than the to'ches. I couldn' take my eyes offn' her. Neithah could Jake.

Then up come the crowd with Green-Eye Jackson in the lead. (He was right young, but they had him fo' haid-man ovah to Ralston's.) "Wa-al, Maw," he say sorta slow an' nasty, "I didn' expect this of you."

Maw got up an' planted herself in front o' Jake. Fo' quite a spell, she didn' say nothin'—jus' fold her arms an' look straight at Green-Eye. Now, Maw warn't so big, but when she look at you that way, you was boun' to melt down to nothin'; an' tha's what Green-Eye done. He look so shame' an' kinda stepped back. Maw took a deep breath—an' smiled! She say real sof'-like, "Jake, he's a good boy, Mistah Jackson. Somebody jus' been puttin' queer notions in 'im. S'pos'n you-all lets him stay ovah heah on Marse Robert's plantation fo' a spell. I bet it'll be all right. An' I'll git Jake all straight on things."

Green-Eye, he look at the rest of 'em an' say, "That suits me fine, Maw. We can always count on you. . . . Come on, boys, let's get some sleep."

THE lights was all gone an' the dogs was barkin' a long ways off, befo' maw said anothah word. "Son, ain't you jus' a trifle hongry? We's got some hawg-jowl an' wil' greens lef' from suppah." . . .

At las' we was all three out on the do'-step once mo'. Maw puff away on her ol' cob-pipe an' say, "Jake, you is got a heap to learn in this ol' worl'. You is the kin' o' li'l fellah what would fight barehan' 'gainst the hefties' man on earth, ef he had somep'n what you want. Now that soun' good, but hit ain't good sense."

When maw stop to puff away once mo', she could heah Jake breathin' heavy an' even. She got up. "Come 'long, Hattie' we is gotta fix a place fo' this boy. I'll jus' hang two o' my undah-shirts on a line 'crost the room. . . . Hit's been a long time, since they was men-folks in this heah shack." . . .

Nex' day, through the grape-vine, we heerd tell how ol' Green-Eye done scairt the guts out o' Maw an' make her take keer o' Jake. An' they was othah things—nasty too.

Jake, he got so mad, an' at dinnah time, when they was lots o' folks come ovah to see us, he jus' blowed up. "I reckon ol' Green-Eye nevah tol' 'bout how Maw scairt him to death." He look 'roun' at maw, but she didn' pay no min' to his talk. She was too busy bouncin' Sistah Dolly's li'l baby on her lap. Lots mo' chillun was hangin' 'roun', pullin' on her skirt with the pretty red figgahs on it.

So Jake kep' on. "Yas, suh, you shoulda saw the way me an' maw stan' right up to that po' white trash, an' says, 'Go min' yo' own bus'ness!'"

The chillun was beggin' maw, "Please, cain't you tell us jus' one li'l story, Maw Haney? Jus' one."

"Wa-al, ef them big folks would shet they mouths onct in a while, maybe I could." Maw was talkin' loud—fo' her; so they all got real quiet. They wasn' a soun'.

An' this is what she tol':

"They was onct a li'l rabbit what had a good-luck chahm. Hit was strongah than them asafittidy bags you-all weahs roun' yo' necks. Hit was pow'ful strong. An' all the time, this rabbit was so happy—a-jumpin' roun', 'cause couldn' nothin' hahm him, long as he had the chahm—could they?"

"No, ma'am," says the chillun.

"So, one day he come home, pull out his chain, an' set down to look at the chahm so as to say some magic words. But lo an' beholst—the good-luck chahm was gone! The li'l rabbit, he was almos' crazy—a-runnin' heah an' a-runnin' theah to find it. An' he didn' have no luck. He sho felt bad.

"'Bout fo' five days aftah, when he was hoppin' 'roun' behin' a grea' big rock, he heerd somep'n growl. An' what does yo' think he seen, when he peep out? They was a big ol' brown beah holdin' the li'l rabbit's good-luck chahm an' playin' with it!

"Now the rabbit, he was mad an' staht to run up an' grab his chahm. Then he figgahed he might git et up; so he hopped on home an' scratched his haid fo' a long time.

"An so evvaday, unbeknownst to the beah, the li'l rabbit followed behin' him evvawhere he go. Then one day, the rabbit hops up to the beah an' say so sweet an' nice, 'Mistah Beah, I brung you a big pot o' honey!'

"The beah jus' growl at firs', but when he taste o' that honey, he say, 'This the bes' honey I evva had! Weah yo-all git it?'

(*Continued on page 217*)

* From *Along This Way* by James Weldon Johnson. By permission of Viking Press.

Mrs. Bethune: Spingarn Medalist

MRS. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE, founder and president of Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach, Florida, has been awarded the Spingarn Medal for 1934. She is the second woman to win the coveted honor, the first being the late Mrs. Mary B. Talbert, former president of the National Association of Colored Women, who became the eighth Spingarn medalist in 1922.

The Spingarn medal was instituted in 1914 by J. E. Spingarn (then chairman of the N.A.A.C.P. board of directors and now president of the Association) who gives annually a gold medal to be awarded for the highest or noblest achievement by an American Negro during the preceding year or years. Its purpose is two-fold—first, to call the attention of the American people to the existence of distinguished merit and achievement among American Negroes, and second, to serve as a reward for such achievement, and as a stimulus to the ambition of colored youth.

Brilliant Career

In selecting Mrs. Bethune as twenty-first Spingarn medalist, the committee stated:

"In the face of almost insuperable difficulties she has, almost single-handedly, established and built up Bethune-Cookman college, which is recognized by the Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools of the Southern States as a standard junior college. In doing this she has not simply created another educational institution. Both the institution's and Mrs. Bethune's influence have been nationwide. That influence has always been on a high plane, directed by a superb courage. Mrs. Bethune has always spoken out against injustice, in the South as well as in the North, without compromise of fear."

Born in a humble cabin on a rice and cotton farm near Mayesville, South Carolina, and one of a family of seventeen children, she early gave promise of a brilliant career. Graduating from Scotia Seminary, she won a scholarship which enabled her to attend Moody Bible Institute at Chicago, Ill. Returning South, she became a teacher at Haines Institute, Augusta, Georgia, under the late Miss Lucy Laney. Later she taught for two years at Sumter, S. C. where she married another teacher, Albert Bethune, and moved to Savannah, Ga., where her only son, Albert McLeod Bethune, was born.

Announcement of the winner of the Spingarn medal for 1934 created wide and favorable comment. This is a sketch of the medalist

But the call to service came again. She taught at a mission school at Palatka, Fla., for five years. During this period she worked among the prisoners in the county jail, wielding a most remarkable influence for good, and aiding those unjustly accused.

Founds School for Girls

With a burning desire to start a school for Negro girls, she arrived in Daytona with her young son and only $1.50. There was no building, no furniture, no food, no money, no pupils, but with characteristic resourcefulness she rented a cabin on credit, made furniture from dry goods boxes and discarded bits of this and that. When the little cabin, crude but scrupulously clean, was in readiness on October 4, 1904, five eager-eyed little girls responded to her call and Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School was founded. The school's thirty-two acres of land were secured from the sale of pastry and sandwiches made by pupils and teacher. Today on this beautiful campus are fourteen buildings conservatively estimated as worth $600,000. In 1923 the Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute was merged with Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, Florida, and became co-educational under the auspices of the Board of Education of the Methodist Episcopal Church, and is known as Bethune-Cookman College.

Leader of Women

Mrs. Bethune was a leading spirit in establishing a Home for Delinquent Girls at Ocala, Florida, while president of the State Association of Colored Women. She has also served with distinction as president of the Southeastern Federation of Women's Clubs, two terms as president of the National Association of Colored Women, president of the National Association of Teachers in Colored Schools, and president of the Florida State Teachers Association. She is also a member and director of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, a member of the National Council of Women of America, of the International Council of the Women of the World, of the International Council of the Women of the Darker Races, and of the National Education Association.

Through her many activities in the fields of education, social service and interracial work, she has created a new appreciation of the finest Negro womanhood in America and made a tremendous contribution to the cause of Negro advancement. In September, 1930, she was named as one of a group of fifty women regarded by the distinguished writer, Miss Ida M. Tarbell, who have done the most for the welfare of the United States.

Mrs. Bethune has been a well-wisher of and a worker for the N.A.A.C.P. throughout its existence. She has aided materially in furthering the work of the Association in the state of Florida.

The twenty-first Spingarn medal will be awarded to Mrs. Bethune at the twenty-sixth annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. at St. Louis on the night of June 28, 1935.

The members of the award committee which Oswald Garrison Villard heads are James H. Dillard of the Slater, Jeanes and Phelps-Stokes funds; Edwin R. Embree, president of the Julius Rosenwald fund; John Hope, president of Atlanta University; Mordecai W. Johnson, president of Howard University; Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, son of the late President Roosevelt; Sinclair Lewis, noted author, and James Weldon Johnson, distinguished poet and author.

Other winners of the medal:

1. **Professor E. E. Just**, head of the department of physiology of Howard University Medical School. Presented February 12, 1915, by Charles S. Whitman, Governor of New York. Award for researches in biology.

2. **Major Charles Young**, U. S. Army. Presented February 22, 1916, at Tremont Temple, Boston Mass., by Samuel Walker McCall, Governor of Massachusetts. Award for services in organizing the Liberian constabulary and developing roads of the Republic of Liberia.

3. **Harry T. Burleigh**, composer, pianist, singer. Presented May 16, 1917, in Washington, D. C., by United States Senator Wesley L. Jones of Washington. Award for excellence in the field of creative music.

4. **William Stanley Braithwaite**, poet, literary critic and editor. Presented May 3, 1918, in the First Baptist Church of Providence, R. I., by R. Livingstone Beeckman, Governor of Rhode Island. Award for distinguished achievement in literature.

5. **Archibald H. Grimké**, former U. S. Consul in Santo Domingo; President American Negro Academy; author; President of the District of Columbia Branch, N.A.A.C.P. Presented June 27, 1919, in Cleveland, Ohio, by Charles F. Thwing, President of Western Reserve University. Award for seventy years of distinguished services to his country and his race.

6. **William E. Burghardt Du Bois**, author; editor of "The Crisis." Presented June 1, 1920, on the campus of Atlanta University, by Bishop John Hurst. Award for the founding and calling together of the Pan-African Congress.

7. **Charles S. Gilpin**, actor. Presented June 30, 1921, in Detroit, Mich., at the 12th annual conference of the N.A.A.C.P. to Mr. Gilpin by proxy, as illness prevented his appearance, the presentation being made by a representative of the Governor of Michigan; later presented in New York City to Mr. Gilpin by Mr. Spingarn in person. Award for his achievement in the title role of Eugene O'Neill's play, "Emperor Jones."

8. **Mary B. Talbert**, former President of the National Association of Colored Women. Presented June 20, 1922, in Newark, N. J., by Rabbi Solomon Foster of Newark. Award for service to the women

(*Continued on page 212*)

The Swan Song of Democracy

By Ernest Calloway

Take a trip with Mr. Calloway and find out about the economic ills of the day

HENRY DUBBS was a likable sort of a fellow. Of course, being human, he had a few prejudices, but these were mostly unimportant. Nowadays, his little business wasn't bringing in as much as he thought it should, but he still had faith in the Recovery program of Roosevelt. He heaped all the ills of today on the shoulders of the bad boys on Wall Street.

On the racial question, Henry was indifferent. He was neither pro-Negro nor anti-Negro. In fact, the question never bothered him, but being a Methodist in good standing, he was morally against lynching and had done his part by signing many protest petitions condemning the great American out-door sport.

As to other questions such as War, Fascism, Communism, Germany's repudiation of certain clauses in the Versailles treaty, and the labor strike wave during 1934, Henry admitted he hadn't lost any sleep over them. (Living in Middletown, Mr. Dubbs hadn't yet come under the influence of the Hearstian philosophy.)

One thing could be said about Henry, though. He had very strong opinons about democracy. Off-handed, little Mr. Dubbs couldn't define the term. But anyway, he was a firm believer in it and too, it was a good sounding word. So why bother. . . . ??????

Of late, however, a growing sense of insecurity had enveloped Henry. This didn't mean that his faith in the Recovery program was wavering—not by a long shot. But somehow the pieces in the puzzle didn't seem to fit. One night while business was slow, Henry told me of this growing fear that had been worrying him for weeks. The trouble with Henry was that he had been secretly yearning for a return of the "good ole days." Not being able to console him, we finally decided to take a trip back through history to see what had happened to the "good ole days" and where they had been left stranded.

So we are off, leaving the troublesome present and uncertain future for the glorious past.

We hurried through the war-wrecked years of 1918 and watched millions of humans slaughtering each other for that will-o-the-wisp, Democracy. We passed through the early years of the 1860's and watched the constant struggle of black men trying to free themselves from the vicious slave system. Men, women, and children—black souls ever hoping for the day when they would be able to live, play, love and die as other humans. We went back to the year 1776 and watched more blood-spilling orgies. Men wanting a voice in running their own affairs. Henry was surprised at seeing a Negro the first to give his life for this cause.

Back to Rome

We continued our journey back through the ages. Revolts here, a dying culture there, and new born dynasties everywhere. Arriving in Rome, 500 years B.C., Henry and I decided to pause a while. Rome was the center of world activity. Everyone paid allegiance to Rome. Henry showed a great curiosity in the Roman political and economic structure.

"Gosh, that sort of resembles democracy in good old U.S.A.—elections, senators and all the trimmings. I wonder do they have a Borah or a Huey Long?"

"Well, Henry," I said, "let's see, we can talk to some of the people."

On the Appian Way, we stopped a Roman and engaged him in a conversation.

"Hello, buddy," said Henry. "Dubbs is my name. How's tricks in this neck of the woods?"

"Well," said the Roman without surprise, "things are so-so. I just came back from the elections and they don't seem to offer much hope."

"What's wrong?" Henry asked. "Everything seems to be running smoothly."

"The big boys are controlling everything these days," returned the Roman. "Us little fellows can't get our hands in anything. Oh! for the good old days when every one had money to spend."

"I understand," said Henry. "It's kinda like that in the good old U. S. A."

"Where is that?"

"Aw—skip it—so long."

We left the Roman scratching his head. We started back slowly for 1935 A.D. Everywhere there was unrest among the Roman people—starvation, sickness, death. In this century of Roman history, we find everyone asking, "What has happened to Rome?" Different answers are made—a decline in religion, "intellectual" poison from Greece, and various other solutions. Henry and I, looking at the passing scenes, could see that what had happened to Rome was "money".

Money was the order of the day. Rome was a few centuries removed from the bartering stage. And this new medium of exchange had disrupted the whole Roman economic structure. The basis of Roman wealth lay in the extensive agricultural areas outside the city despite her great commerce along the Mediterranean. With no planned economy, anarchy had developed throughout the Republic overnight. Money had sent the Romans sailing through the clouds. Every one had the "money" habit. The majority of people ran into debt. Farmers were giving up raising grain, cattle and sheep to borrow money with which to trade in slaves and metals. Towns replace the fertile farms. We saw that it was the submersion of the farmer that hastened the end of this civilization. This new medium of exchange continued its rampage. Men "bulled" the market by making schemes to hoard money, to corner it, to send up prices by releasing hoarded money. A small body of shrewd men were growing immensely rich. The masses were conscious of a growing sense of insecurity.

We watched the growing unrest among the people and heard the appeals of Tiberius Gracchus to the gathering revolutionary feelings. The social tensions were becoming more strained—the rich were getting richer and the poor, poorer. Assassinations, civil war, political corruption, starvation. We witnessed the slave insurrection led by the gladiator, Spartacus, which terrified all Italy.

Caesar Emerges

Lingering for a while we listened to the "swan song" of the crude democracy of which so many Romans had boasted. We followed adventurers' schemes for dictatorial power in Rome. Amid this confusion we saw the disorderly Caesar emerge with his appeal to the common man. "Certainly this is the man to bring us out of the depression," everyone said.

We saw Caesar and his Gallic ravages, his questionable but triumphant return to Rome, and his election to the consulship and this was followed up by making himself dictator for life. We watched every move. He did not abolish the senate, but he greatly increased its numbers—filled it with his own friends and even installed former

slaves and foreigners among its members, thus destroying the public respect for it. And it was entirely ready to do his bidding.

We saw him building vast armies. The imperial sweep of his plans included far-reaching conquests into new lands. We saw the common man, who had put so much faith in him, reduced to the lowest level of existence, in order to support the vast army. We saw the laborers' crude guilds slowly disintegrating. We heard the wails of the small shop-keepers. We witnessed the combination of the big olive oil merchants and saw how they rallied to the support of this egotistic adventurer.

The death of Caesar threw the world into deeper turmoil. Antony, Lepidus, and Octavian succeeded him as the dictators of Rome. In order to get money to pay their troops, thousands of peasants were evicted from the land, and the land given to the soldiers. Culture stopped—freedom curbed—while these Caesars fought their wars.

Henry and I shuddered as we left these distorted scenes of human events. As we traced our way back through the centuries, the appeals of the homeless evicts kept ringing in our ears—sometimes a challenge, sometimes a warning.

We saw the pacifist-revolutionist Christ teaching the high idealism of human activity, and the conversion of the Emperor Constantine which led to the wholesale spread of Christianity. We saw a group of humans "corner the market" of Christianity for their own selfish aims. Human progress stopped for centuries.

We witnessed the birth and decay of feudalism and the discovery of America. We saw hand labor replaced by complicated tools and saw how the common man was expelled from the land and herded into small factories to work these newly invented machines. Machine was the talk of the day. We saw men write books and work out economic theories to justify the existence of the machine. Laissez-faire—go-as-you-please—rugged individualism—the survival of the fittest—the birth of capitalism. With capitalism we watched the rise of nationalism and new democracy.

Again we paused a while in our passage through the ages. Avarice and the machine were the road to power. This combination offered newer chances, opportunities and more freedom for the lucky few. Again money came into the picture. With money "man" controlled the machine. "Every one" was getting hold of money, the majority by running into debt. Again men made schemes to hoard it, to corner it. A small body of men were growing immensely rich, and again the masses were conscious of a vague sense of insecurity.

We witnessed the same spectacle of growing unrest among the people and heard the appeals of Marx and Engels to the gathering revolutionary feelings. The rich were getting richer and the poor, poorer . . . assassinations . . . world war . . . political corruption . . . starvation. We witnessed another insurrection, this time successful, led by Lenin, which terrified all the money rulers of the world.

Mussolini and Hitler

Lingering a little longer, we sat beside the deathbed of capitalism. Amid this confusion we saw Mussolini and Hitler emerge with their economic respirators and appeals to the common man. "Certainly this is the man to bring us out of the depression," everyone said.

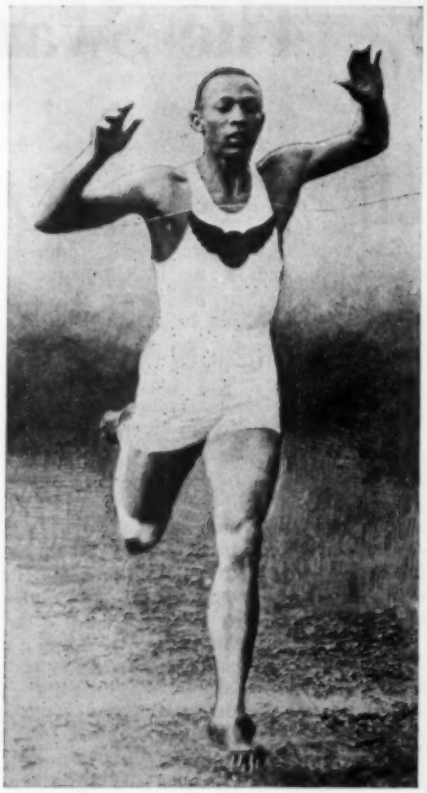
We saw Mussolini's questionable march on Rome and Hitler's appointment to the chancellorship. This was followed by both making themselves dictators. We see the common man who had put so much faith in them, reduced to the lowest standard of living. We see the workers' trade unions dissolved or rendered useless through government control. We hear the wails of the small shopkeeper. We witness the combination of the big industrialists and their rallying to the support of these adventurers. We again see these modern Caesars building vast armies and plans for vast conquests into new lands.

Henry and I are getting near home and 1935. In America we see that the economic trend toward Caesarism is a few steps ahead of the political trend. We witness the combination of the big oil merchants and their cry for centralized governmental dictation. We see the trade unions rendered useless through governmental control.

In other places, we see the Caesarian tendency cropping up. It grew out of the Civil War. We saw it in the terrorism of the Ku Klux Klan, breeding hate, distrust and destruction among millions of people. We see the farmer submerged and evicted from the land—share-croppers in Arkansas, Imperial Valley farmers in California, wheat farmers in the Dakotas, onion farmers in Ohio, cotton plowed under in Alabama and milk spilt in Wisconsin.

Today, the use of demagoguery is their road to power. Vast promises are made that cannot be kept. Promises of reforms that are contradictory to a dying social system. Racial prejudices are juggled carelessly—Jews in Germany, Negroes in America.

Where is the Caesar? . . . Maybe in some Louisiana swamp, making every man a king . . . Maybe some radio voice advocating social justice . . . Maybe some newspaper publisher promoting wars—the modern Roman triumvirate. Or he might be found dressed in some colored shirt.



JESSE OWENS

Perhaps the all-time record for smashing world track records was established by Jesse Owens, sensational star of the Ohio State university track team when he broke three world's records and tied a fourth in a track and field meet in Chicago in May.

Owens who streaked to fame in Chicago got his start as the star of the East Tech High School team of Cleveland, Ohio. He matriculated at Ohio State university and the spotlight has been following him ever since. At Chicago he broke the world record for the 220-yard low hurdles in the time of 22.6 seconds. In the running broad jump he leaped 26 feet and 8¼ inches, smashing the world record by 6 inches. In the 220-yard dash he clipped .3 of a second off the world mark established by Roland Locke. To climax an afternoon of work, he equaled the world record of 9.4 seconds for the 100-yard dash. All his record-smashing was done within two hours.

Of his performance, Grantland Rice, syndicated sports columnist, declared:

"In the meanwhile, Jesse Owens, the Buckeye blizzard, wrote more track history in one day than any other athlete ever wrote in a lifetime. To set three world records and tie another is the Mount Everest of sporting peaks. Here's your next Olympic headline."

The Gilpin Players

By Harvey M. Williamson

Cleveland, O., is the home of America's oldest Negro Little Theatre group

WITH the lowering of the final curtain on the play *Stevedore*, after a two-week run at the Karamu theatre in Cleveland, the Gilpin Players concluded their one hundredth production. This organization, which is now in its fifteenth year, is the oldest Negro Little Theatre group in the country.

Looking backward over the years that encompass the history of this group, one becomes aware that these fifteen years encompass not only the history of the Gilpin Players but the history of the Negro in American drama as well. Down to 1920 the record of the Negro in the American theatre had been, in the main, a record of laughter and music, of cork and comedy. Consequently, there was little in the way of a worthwhile precedent to be had from the professional theatre by the six people—the nucleus of the group later to be known as the Gilpin Players—who came to Mrs. Rowena Woodham Jelliffe in the Autumn of that year and asked her to help them in the study and production of plays.

Mrs. Jelliffe, a young Oberlin graduate, had come to Cleveland with her husband five years before, "intrigued," she says, "by what might be done to eliminate friction between Negroes and whites." Financed by the Men's club of a local white church, they settled in a little house on East 38th street and began settlement work among the people of the neighborhood. They started clubs and various activities among the adults and children, and in her work with a children's theatre group of the Settlement Mrs. Jelliffe became convinced that the Negro had a definite offering to make to the American theatre. "There was in those children," she says, "something which I can not define, but which was to me the essence of drama." Therefore she welcomed the little group of adults who asked her aid, and together they read a great many plays and managed to produce a few of them.

The little group was beset by many difficulties. It had no theatre and was forced to stage its productions in schools, lodge halls, and other unsatisfactory places. What financial support it had came from the Settlement which could ill afford to support it. There were few suitable plays to be had. Moreover, the group was disturbed by doubt of the wisdom and propriety of confining itself to plays about Negroes or of even presenting them. The locale of most plays about Negroes was the South, and the South represented to members of this group, as to most Negroes in the North, only things they wanted to forget. Although the group saw drama as a possible means of expression for the Negro, the probability of being accepted as portrayers of the entire Negro race when they portrayed the humble and ignorant Negro of the South made them pause. There was no precedent in the professional theatre to guide them at this point. Indeed, in this post-war era of flappers and flippancy there was little guidance of any kind to be had from a theatre that concerned itself only with smartness and sophistication, a theatre which, says Mrs. Jelliffe, "was in 1920 all froth and tinsel:"

Hostile to Negro Plays

But the seed of discontent with the professional theatre of that time which Professor Baker had sown in his 47 Workshop at Harvard had been blossoming for some years at Provincetown and were about to bear fruit in the American theatre that same year with the production on Broadway of Eugene O'Neill's *Emperor Jones*. With the production of this play, the Negro gained a precarious foothold in American drama. But the effect of the play and the criticism aimed at it by Negroes throughout America on the struggling little group in Cleveland was to heighten its feeling of insecurity toward plays about Negroes, and for almost three years this feeling remained with them. Despite their difficulties, however, the Players made progress during these years, presenting a number of plays and growing stronger both numerically and artistically.

In 1923 the Players were confronted at close range with the problem of the Negro play in the professional theatre. In that year Charles Gilpin came to Cleveland in the *Emperor Jones*. Negro Cleveland was hostile to Gilpin, hostile to this man who, it felt, had betrayed his race by taking part in a play about the superstition of a Negro. The Players were hostile to Gilpin also, but they invited him to speak to them. Gilpin accepted but in his speech he made no defense of or apology for the *Emperor Jones* or his part in it. He so impressed the Players, however, with the dignity of the theatre and the understanding that drama is above belittling that the dubious attitude with which the group had regarded the play was replaced by one of appreciation. So much, indeed, were the Players impressed by Gilpin that at their next meeting they voted unanimously to name the group the Gilpin Players. "The visit of Gilpin to the Players," says Mrs. Jelliffe, "was

The Gilpin Players in a scene from "Stevedore"

a milestone in their appreciation of plays about Negroes."

In the years following Gilpin's visit to Cleveland, America became increasingly aware of the Negro's artistic possibilities. Soon there was a growing demand for artistic creations dealing with Negroes, and a consequent attempt of both white and Negro artists to supply this demand. In these years the artistic firmament became studded with the names of many Negroes. Robeson, Toomer, and McKay, Hughes, Cullen, and Fisher and many others were spilled into the lap of a surprised nation to be hailed by Doctor Alain Locke as the "New Negro." In the theatre the Negro actor was appearing behind the footlights for the first time as a human being instead of a "caricatured stereotype." In such plays as *All God's Chillun Got Wings, In Abraham's Bosom,* and *Porgy* the abilities of the Negro as a dramatic actor, which had heretofore been admittedly recognized only by such honest and perceiving white people as Mrs. Jelliffe and Eugene O'Neill, were loudly acclaimed by the theatrical world.

Build Own Theatre

In these lush days of the "Negro Renaissance" the Gilpin Players made almost spectacular progress. In 1926 they converted with their own labor an old two-story frame building, which had once housed a saloon and poolroom, into a theatre. They decorated it with African designs and named it the Karamu, an African name for a place of feasting and enjoyment. At last, six years after their inauspicious beginning in a school room, they were ready to welcome their growing audiences to their own theatre. In their theatre the change from a group of amateurs presenting crude one night productions to a group of polished actors presenting successfully the plays about Negroes then coming from the pens of O'Neill and Paul Green and others was rapid. With the dissipation of their doubt concerning plays about Negroes, the Gilpin Players attained a nation-wide reputation as interpreters of this type of play. Soon they were at the stage where almost every production was rewarded with high critical acclaim. And although they still retain their amateur standing, their productions are now judged by professional standards. Among the plays with which they have scored signal triumphs are *Emperor Jones, Porgy, Scarlet Sister Mary, In Abraham's Bosom, Roseanne,* and *Stevedore.*

The success of the Gilpin Players' production is due in a large measure to the harmony and team-work that exists within the group. The successful presentation of a play has seldom been attributed to the outstanding work of any one actor, but rather to the cumulative effort of the entire cast. It is this ability to work together that has brought the spontaneity and sparkle and polish which are the hall marks of their productions. A great deal of their success is due also to Mrs. Jelliffe who has directed the Players intelligently and sympathetically and wisely. But for the success of the group Mrs. Jelliffe takes little credit, pointing out that she has but one vote in the handling of the Players' affairs and that what has been accomplished has been the result of the cooperative efforts of players and director alike.

With the spread of their fame and the consequent growth of their audiences, the group became self-supporting, and although it has maintained a close relationship with the Settlement which fostered it in infancy, the official connection ceased some years ago with the incorporation of the Players as a separate organization. The growth of the group numerically has been slow. Its active members now total ninety-nine among whom are most of the original members. The members represent, according to occupation, almost a vertical slice of Negro society, ranging from hucksters and maids to doctors and teachers. The preparation and presentation of the six plays produced each theatrical season are dependent on the leisure time of the members of the group.

Audience Mostly Whites

The development of the Players has not always been easy. Even in the days of their greatest success they have had to withstand the constant carping of excessively sensitive, over-race-conscious Negroes who have yet to learn to appreciate the play about Negroes. The recently presented *Stevedore,* as a case in point, was attacked viciously by some Negro Clevelanders who felt that its theme of class and racial conflict would engender bitterness in Cleveland. During the development of the Players their audiences have shifted considerably. In their early years they were supported by middle-class Negroes. But as the Players turned more and more to Negro plays in which they could excel, these people drifted away to be replaced by white people and a few Negroes who may be termed the intellectuals. Now more than seventy per cent of their audiences is composed of white people. Whether the afore-mentioned sensitiveness of the Negro or a lack of interest in the theatre has caused this desertion of the Gilpin Players by the Negro is open to debate. But that this desertion is unfortunate is patent. If the group desires to remain "headed in the main stream of American life," as is its avowed intention, it must establish a rapprochement with the Negro race as well as with the white race, lest it run aground in some deserted backwater of that stream.

The influence of the Gilpin Players on the American theatre has been confined almost wholly to being an example of what a small Negro group could accomplish and to giving aid and encouragement to other Little Theatre groups springing up throughout the nation. As yet there has sprung up about the Gilpin Players no school of playwrights to try their wings and then carry on to the professional theatre as occurred at Provincetown. It would be unfair to hold the Players responsible for this lag of Negro playwrights which is always, Sterling Brown contends, "inevitably bound up with . . . social conditions. . . ." by offering excellent royalties to unknown playwrights, the Players have attempted to encourage these beginners. But the continued absence of Negro playwrights shows the need of a new approach or of a stronger stimulus. The growth of a school of Negro playwrights would solve for the Players the ever-pressing problem of the shortage of suitable plays.

The Gilpin Players have made no attempt to send actors to the Broadway stage or to form any sort of alliance with the professional theatre. The treatment received by the Negro actor, the Players feel, in the professional theatre has made such an alliance undesirable. They are content, rather to work toward the time when the American theatre will consist not only of the Broadway stage but of thousands of smaller theatres throughout the nation, employing regularly their thousands of troupes of actors. To this end the Settlement maintains several children's theatre groups which are doing excellent work in dramatics. From the children's groups, the young actors graduate to the Gilpin Players, and the Players hope of having well trained Negro actors for the American theatre of the future is on its way to fulfillment.

Scholarship Fund

The contribution of the Gilpin Players to the cultural life of Cleveland has not been confined to the dramatic field. Their productions have been profitable for some time and, since the actors receive no pay, the group has been able to establish a scholarship fund which now amounts to three thousand dollars. The income from the fund is used to defray the expenses of a Negro student at the Cleveland School of Art. Several years ago, in conjunction with a group called the African Art Sponsors, the

(*Continued on page* 214)

Civil Rights in Indiana

By William Pickens

By eight votes the Indiana legislature declined to strengthen the civil rights law and Mr. Pickens here tells the story

FIFTY years ago the Indiana legislature passed an act declaring all persons of the state "entitled to the full and equal enjoyments of the accommodations, advantages, facilities, and privileges of inns, restaurants, eating houses, barber shops, public conveyances on land and water, theatres and all other places of public accommodations and amusement, subject only to the conditions and limitations established by law and applicable alike to all citizens."

Then on second thought the legislators added that this law "does not apply to an ice-cream parlor." Evidently ice-cream was such a rare delicacy in 1885 that the eating of it was supposed to be a very private, personal and intimate performance.

That was section 1 of the statute, declaring the right. Then came section 2, prescribing the penalties for its violation: that any person who shall deny such privileges and accommodations "to any citizen, except for reasons applicable alike to all citizens of every race and color, and regardless of color or race," or any person "aiding or exciting such denial," should upon conviction have to forfeit to the aggrieved person not more than one hundred dollars; and could also be deemed to have committed a misdemeanor, for which he could be fined not more than one hundred dollars, or given thirty days in jail, or both. But: "That a judgment in favor of the party aggrieved, or punishment or committal upon an indictment, affidavit or information, shall be a bar to further or other prosecution or suit." That is: if the person denied service was awarded any damages, then the offender could not be fined or prosecuted for the misdemeanor,—or if he had been first prosecuted for misdemeanor, the aggrieved party could not then sue for damages.

Henry J. Richardson, Jr., Negro member of the Indiana legislature, endeavored in 1935 to amend and strengthen section 2 of this old law. Perhaps the reader has already discovered the loopholes and weaknesses of the 1885 law:

1. It excuses the "ice-cream parlor," under which label a host of discriminating sinners could be easily harbored. But that is a part of section 1 of the old law, and Richardson's bill only dealt with the weaknesses of section 2, the penalties.

2. "Not to exceed one hundred dollars" to the aggrieved person, which means that he can be awarded one cent.

3. Not to exceed $100 fine or thirty days in jail, for the misdemeanor, which means he can be fined one cent.

Must Prove Innocence

Richardson's bill aimed to stop up the worst of these escape-holes. The edition of his bill distributed January 25, 1935, proposed that the damages to be paid to the aggrieved party be not more than $300 and "not less than $50." That was designed to keep these courts from making the victim pay for defending his own rights against the violator: one will not bring suit if he is to pay a lawyer $50 and then collect only six cents, even though he wins the case.

Richardson proposed that the fine for the misdemeanor be not more than $300, or thirty days in jail or both. It would still be possible, if his bill had passed, to fine the offender only six cents, but fines go to the state anyway, so that Richardson and the aggrieved party could leave the fine to the conscience of the court.

And the legislator added this last clause to his bill: "And the fact that any person is denied the full enjoyment of any of the accommodations, advantages, facilities or privileges enumerated in the foregoing section shall be prima facie evidence that such denial was made in violation of this act."

The author wanted to make it so that the simple denial of service would be all that the insulted person would have to prove. The fact of the denial is easy to establish by witnesses. Then it would be presumed that the law had been violated and it would be up to the concern denying the services to show the court that services were denied for other reasons than for "race or color." As it is now, they can say: "He wasn't refused on account of his color,—he was disturbing the peace." The proposed bill would have made them prove that. Or they say: "There were no vacant seats,—all rooms were taken,—the last berth had been sold," etc., etc. Under the new bill all these alleged "alibis" would have to be proved by the party alleging them. Perhaps the hotel owner would have to bring his register into court and show that "all rooms were taken." The ticket agent would have to produce his records.

That "full enjoyment" phrase would also make it wrong for them to offer to serve you in a paper cup while others are served in glasses; or to hand you a sandwich in a bag "to be taken outside."

Colored People Divided

Why was this bill defeated by a majority of only eight votes in the Indiana legislature? Why did fifteen of the legislators walk out contemptuously, under the influence of the Ku Klux Klan when the bill was called up for a vote? Simply because the Negroes, as often, were divided on the issue, some fighting for the bill, some against it. Some feared that a law giving Negroes full rights in all places would hurt Negro businesses, because all the Negroes would flock to white places. They forget that sane people will not seek food, for example, at any place where the servants are hostile, even though every self-respecting man wants the *right* to such places. One does not have to exercise all his rights, but one should see that those rights remain intact. If I were denied service in a restaurant, I would be willing to go to law to establish my right to the privilege, and then, very likely, I would not eat there. Or, if I did order food in that shop, it would be only eggs-in-the-shell and apples-in-the-skin. I would never order any hash or soup.

The white opposition played up the assertion that "the Negroes are satisfied" and that "nobody but Richardson wants to pass this law" to enforce civil rights for the entire Negro race. They even recalled that under the old civil rights law the Negroes of Indiana had carried up only three cases in fifty years! (They did not point out that the Negro saw only a good chance to lose cases or waste money through the loopholes of this old law.) One white legislator brazenly asserted that "the constitution is not enforceable everywhere in Indiana," so far as Negro rights are concerned.

Meanwhile the Negroes fought one another and even played politics with the question of their civil rights. Doubtless some were honestly opposed to the effort to amend the old law at that time, believing that it would be wasted effort; but some were opposed to the politics of their Negro representative and were fearful that if he passed his bill, he would become too big a man in the community. When the K.K.K. sent Richardson threatening letters, he referred to them in debate from the floor of the legislature and coolly remarked: "The Ku Klux Klan, and

(*Continued on page 217*)

Charles H. Houston Will Join N.A.A.C.P. Staff in July

In July, Charles H. Houston of Washington, D. C., vice-dean of the Howard University Law School, will join the national office staff of the N.A.A.C.P. as special counsel. Mr. Houston, who will be on a sabbatical leave from his duties at Howard University, will handle special legal work for the Joint Committee of the American Funds for Public Service and the N.A.A.C.P. This work for which the American Funds for Public Service has provided some funds, will deal primarily with legal attacks upon inequitable school funds and facilities. Some portion of the work will be concerned with unequal transportation facilities. Mr. Houston also will advise on the regular legal work of the N.A.A.C.P.

CHARLES H. HOUSTON

In his position as vice-dean of the Howard Law School, Mr. Houston has raised the standards and secured a better rating for the school. He is best known perhaps to the general public and especially to members of the N.A.A.C.P. for his work as chief counsel in the George Crawford case in 1933.

Mr. Houston was born in Washington in 1895 and after finishing the local schools was graduated from Amherst College where he was elected to Phi Beta Kappa. He received his LL.B. in 1922 and his S.J.D. in 1923 from Harvard University where he was a member of the editorial board of the Harvard Law Review. In 1923–1929 he was a resident at the University of Madrid, Spain, as the Sheldon Traveling Fellow in Law from Harvard. For five years until 1929, he was an instructor in the Howard Law School and since 1929 has been associate professor and vice-dean.

He was a special investigator on the contact of the Negro with the administration of justice under the auspices of the Laura Spelman Rockefeller Foundation from October, 1927, to May, 1928. He is a member of the national legal committee of the N.A.A.C.P.; The American Academy of Political and Social Science; The American Law Institute; National Committee American Civil Liberties Union; National Committee International Juridical Association; and the Board of Education, District of Columbia.

Mr. Houston was commissioned a lieutenant in the Infantry, Ft. Des Moines, but was transferred to the field artillery in May, 1918. He served overseas with the A.E.F. from September, 1918, to February, 1919. His father is W. L. Houston, a former member of the board of education of the District of Columbia, professor of law at Howard University and senior member of the law firm of Houston and Houston.

WALTER STARR BIGGS

1885—1935

The Cleveland branch, N.A.A.C.P. mourns the loss of one of its most devoted workers and executive committee members, Dr. Walter Starr Biggs, whose sudden death, Sunday, June 2, shocked his family and his host of friends.

Walter Starr Biggs was born November 29, 1885, at Portsmouth, Ohio, the son of Daniel and Harriett Biggs. After being graduated from Portsmouth high school, he entered the dental school of Howard university, graduating in 1909.

He was married to Miss Clae Webb, October 11, 1916, and his only child Mariett, talented musician, will graduate with honors in the June class of Glenville high school. The family resides at 10,806 Earle Avenue.

Walter Biggs crowded into his 49 years not only a successful dental practice, but a sincere interest and activity in his church and the civic and cultural life of Cleveland. He was a vestryman of St. Andrew's Episcopal church; member of the board of directors of Playhouse Settlement, and president of its African Art Sponsors, in 1929. He also held membership in Excelsior Lodge, A. F. & A. M., Sigma Phi Psi, Cleveland Dental Society and the American Dental Society.

Dr. Biggs is survived by his wife and daughter, his mother, Mrs. Henrietta Biggs, at whose home he died; and four brothers Horace, Fred, Harvey and John and one sister, Mattie.

At the time of his death the team captained by Dr. Biggs was leading in the annual membership campaign of the Cleveland branch, N.A.A.C.P. He was also heading a team in the campaign to lift the mortgage of the Phyllis Wheatley Association.

Just twenty-four hours before he died, Dr. Biggs rode with the writer for nearly an hour collecting N.A.A.C.P. pledges. His last observation, made when a neighborhood druggist declined to participate, was: "Those who can, should support such organizations as the N.A.A.C.P. more than ever, because it is fighting for justice for a underprivileged group!"

Cleveland has lost one of its most useful citizens in the passing of Dr. Biggs.

Summer Theatre Season by Atlanta U. Players

The Atlanta University Summer Theatre, which was inaugurated with great success at the 1934 summer school, opened its second season on June 17th and will continue for five weeks, giving in that period five dramatic productions under the general direction of Miss Anne M. Cooke, director of dramatics at Spelman College, assisted by John M. Ross, a graduate of the Yale school of the drama. Announcement of the continuation of the summer theatre, was made June 1st by President John Hope.

During the five weeks' season, four full length plays and one bill of short plays of Negro life will be presented by casts of semi-professional character. The opening play will be "The Romantic Young Lady," by Martinez Sierra, author of "The Cradle Song." This will be followed in turn by a revival of Richard Brinsley Sheridan's famous comedy of manners, "The Rivals," by the bill of one-act plays of Negro life, and "The Return of Peter Grimm" by David Belasco, which was made famous by the acting of David Warfield. The season will be concluded with John Drinkwater's successful modern English comedy, "Bird in Hand."

A company of about fifteen actors will be recruited who will devote their entire time to the preparation and presentation of the five plays. This full time group will be supplemented by members of the faculty and students of the Atlanta University Summer School who have had considerable experience in dramatics.

The plays will be given in Howe Memorial Hall on the Spelman College campus on each Monday, Wednesday and Friday evening, beginning Monday, June 17, and concluding on Friday, July 19.

Editorials

Breaking the Rules A MONTH ago a school teacher was lynched in Mexico because the community resented his teaching what it called "socialism." Readers of headlines probably passed on with some thought about the "backwardness" of Mexico. But we read to the end of the article and there was the sentence: "Two suspects have been arrested by the police." Only in a "backward" and "uncivilized" country like Mexico could the officials of the law be so tactless as to pursue their duties and arrest lynchers. We suggest that Mexico send its chiefs of police and its prosecuting attorneys on a tour of inspection of Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia and Alabama, winding up with an interview in Washington with Senator William E. Borah and Attorney General Homer S. Cummings. When they finish this tour they will understand the proper method of handling the crime of lynching. What do they mean by breaking the rules laid down by the great civilized country north of the Rio Grande?

Angelo Herndon THE CRISIS has not been able to inspect the record of the trial in the lower court of Angelo Herndon, who was convicted in Georgia under an old law against insurrection and sentenced to twenty years on the chain gang. We are not able to say whether or not the constitutional questions were raised properly by the lawyers acting for him. But we, like every other person familiar with the case, know that Herndon was convicted because he was black and dared to speak out against exploitation and starvation and the particular Georgia segment of the system that exploits and starves. He believes in the uniting of white and black underprivileged groups to win the freedom that the oppressors have denied them by playing one against the other. For this "crime" Herndon was sentenced to a living death.

Upon a technicality the United States supreme court refused to grant him a new trial, claiming his lawyers had not raised a federal question properly in the record. A strong dissenting opinion by Justices Stone, Brandeis and Cardozo maintains the opposite view. It is to be hoped that the petition for a re-hearing will be granted. Herndon is one of a long list of victims of the hysteria of reaction and repression which is sweeping the country. He is being chained in hell because he dared to raise his voice in protest. All persons who believe in protest or who are identified with groups which will perish unless the right of protest is preserved should rally to aid Herndon in any way possible.

Down With Gag Rule AND the Herndon case merely touches us off on the subject of gag rule. Our white folks are off on a tantrum of repression and, contrary to the usual attitude of our folk, this matter *is* our business. In a half dozen states and in the Congress of the United States laws have been proposed for suppressing free speech, for restricting free assembly, for outlawing certain political parties, for denying the right of protest, for penalizing even the possession of protest literature. It ought to be unnecessary to point out to colored people who are the most easily marked and most ruthlessly exploited minority group in this country the imperative need of their vigorous opposition to all manifestations of gag rule. They ought to be an organized part of every protest against it everywhere. The expert organization in this field is the American Civil Liberties Union, 31 Union Square, New York City. It will answer all questions touching upon this subject.

Out in the Wash ENLIGHTENED persons and organizations have raised their voices —and rightly so—in protest against the starvation wage scale of $19 a month announced for work relief in most of the southern states by President Roosevelt. Most of the states in this classification have a heavy Negro population which means black workers will be receiving the lowest wages.

In the outbreak of protest which followed the announcement, various unnamed and semi-official government spokesmen were issuing defensive statements. In a long story in the New York *Times* we find a significant sentence buried in the middle of a column to the effect that although the $19 wage might seem small, critics should remember that the average relief heretofore in South Carolina was *nine dollars* a month! If this was the average, it is easy to believe that Negroes did receive the *ninety cents* a week about which they wrote pitiful letters. It all comes out in the wash.

Jane Addams IT was impossible for Jane Addams, in dedicating her life to humanity and the building of a better world, to ignore the injustices and cruelties visited upon Negro Americans. Other professed humanitarians have managed this feat, but she could not. Thus it was that she was one of the persons who in 1909 signed the call to organize the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People. From the first organization meeting until her death last month she was a member of its national board of directors, giving it and the problems of colored people always her intelligent sympathy and vigorous attention. We mourn her loss together with the millions of our land and the nations across the world.

Quite a Difference EVEN before the Weyerhauser boy had been ransomed for $200,000 and returned to his parents the U. S. Department of Justice men were active in the case. As this is written two suspects have been arrested, and half the ransom money recovered. *After* all this activity it now appears that perhaps the federal Lindbergh kidnaping law may not apply as the victim apparently was not transported across a state line. Accordingly, the "G-Men," unless they can find proof of an interstate crime, are preparing to turn their captives and the collected evidence over to the state officials for prosecution under the state law.

All this contrasts beautifully with the non-action of Attorney General Homer S. Cummings and his famed federal sleuths in the Claude Neal kidnap-lynching. Neal's kidnapers announced in advance through the Associated Press and over the radio that they were going to commit an interstate crime and top it off with a good, old-fashioned American lynching. Did the "G-Men" leap to Florida? Nary a one, sir. Instead, Mr. Cummings declared the Lindbergh law did not apply. Even when the Lindbergh law was quoted to him out of the statute books and even when a brief was prepared by skilled lawyers showing how the U. S. could act, Mr. Cummings turned a deaf ear and a blind eye. In the Weyerhauser case, federal agents were swarming the Northwest even though there was not the slightest evidence that a federal crime had been committed. No one stopped to read the law or wait for it to be read to him. Nor were any exhaustive briefs necessary. Of course, little George Weyerhauser is white and his father is worth a few hundred million dollars, whereas Claude Neal was black and his people were penniless. That makes quite a difference.

Housing

(*Continued from page 200*)

areas for low-rent housing. In such instances, where vacant land can be obtained and properly serviced at a reasonable cost in the same locality, the slum areas may not be preferable. The dumping of slum areas on the Division will not be permitted.

Generally the dwellings provided will be one and two story row-houses or two and three story walk-up apartments. Attention will be paid to the provision of ample ground space, modern household and social facilities, and community planning. The per cent of coverage will vary from 8% to 28.7% of the total project area. In most of the projects, day nurseries, laundries, and garages will be provided. In some of the larger projects, employment agencies may be maintained. Such features are extremely important, because they will make for social stability and permanency for the entire community.

Quarter of Funds for Negroes

Now, what are the specific benefits of the program to Negroes? In the first place, because of the very insanitary and ugly housing now provided for Negroes throughout the country, they more than likely will receive about one-fourth of the total to be allotted by the Division for low-rent projects. Then, too, it can be added here that continuous employment of the groups to be housed is essential to the success of the program. To date, a proportion of the housing payroll, equal to the occupational distribution as between white and colored workers of the building trades as shown by the 1930 census, has gone to Negro skilled and unskilled workers. In the Housing Division, Negroes, despite the fact that only one Negro along with hundreds of whites has been employed to date in the capacity of a housing expert, will be employed as architects, engineers, project analysts, social planners, project accountants and auditors, project managers and supervisors and re-housing engineers. This employment will mean that the program of the Housing Division is based on policies and practices of doing things *with* Negroes rather than *for* Negroes. Moreover, the relief burdens carried by the cities have been and will be lessened because a revival of the building industry certainly has meant and will mean increased direct and indirect employment. Negroes constitute about one-fourth of those employables still on relief.

As the program advances, other industries affected by the building industry also will be revived and this will mean additional employment. According to figures released May 27, by the Bureau of Labor Statistics of the Department of Labor, employment in the iron and steel industry was 50% higher in March of this year than in March, 1933. This is concrete evidence that the PWA has created millions of hours of indirect employment in mines, mills and factories producing steel and iron materials required for public works projects as well as in transportation and communication enterprises. The figures of the Bureau of Labor Statistics show that 617,700 men were employed in the iron and steel industry on March 15 of this year as compared with 401,700 on March 15, 1933. On the basis of these figures it is reasonable to believe that there have been proportional increases in the lumber, cement, brick, plumbing, and other related industries, the materials of which are required by the Federal program. Negroes are or should be employed in all of these industries.

34 Millions Allotted

Low-rent housing projects, which provide for Negro participation, have been announced in (1) Atlanta, Georgia, (2) Chicago, Illinois, (3) Cincinnati, Ohio, (4) Cleveland, Ohio, (5) Detroit, Michigan, (6) Indianapalis, Indiana, (7) Montgomery, Alabama, and (8) Nashville, Tennessee. The estimated cost of this Negro participation is about $34,000,000. These projects will provide about 23,000 rooms for about 6,175 Negro families, and about 9,500,000 direct man hours of labor. Chicago and Detroit, providing for 1,700 Negro families and 1,032 Negro families respectively, provide for the largest Negro participation. The average percentage of coverage in these projects is about 21.7% of the total land area. These projects are under construction, open to bids or the sites are acquired or being acquired. Also, projects which will provide Negro participation are under active consideration in 29 additional cities, thus providing Negro participation in more than 50% of all the projects in process or under active consideration at present. In all of the projects, the objectives of the Division are to provide safe, comfortable, healthful, nicely appointed dwellings at a minimum operating or maintenance cost. Abundance of light and air is stressed in room arrangements as well as maximum privacy for each family.

For public enlightenment, it might be added before closing that in creating a project, the Division is guided by the following steps:

1. A community desiring a project contacts the Housing Division and demonstrates a need for housing. It must show that a public interest in housing exists in the community.

2. It is supplied with a questionnaire to be filled out. The collection of the information required constitutes a preliminary survey of the housing needs of the community with social and economic factors bearing upon poor living conditions indicated.

3. The completed surveys are analyzed and studied by the Housing Division. Field trips of the Division personnel supplement the information supplied. On the basis of the essential facts, a site is chosen, a decision made as to whether a project should be undertaken.

4. To provide proper contact with a municipality and to make advisory services of citizens available for the benefit of a project, a Citizens Advisory Committee is appointed in the project-city.

5. With the decision to install a project, the Federal Government undertakes the purchase of the site, making contracts with local agencies for surveys, title examinations, appraisals and for negotiation of options with property owners. Occasionally, in congested metropolitan areas, condemnation of the site is sought immediately as a means of avoiding real estate speculation. To date, the Division has obtained the greater part of its land by direct negotiation, utilizing condemnation chiefly as a method of clearing title.

6. When the accumulation of options indicates that a site can be purchased at prices which will allow construction of true low-rent housing, contracts are made with local architects for the execution of plans for the new development. Plans are evolved by the architects with the cooperation and guidance of the technical staff of the Housing Division.

7. When title to the site is obtained, the Division lets a contract for demolition of existing buildings.

8. With approval of plans and specifications for the projects, a general contract is let to a low bidder for complete construction.

9. The project will be operated either directly by the Federal Government or through a lease arrangement with the municipality, but always with Federal supervision and control.

Finally, it cannot be too greatly emphasized that the success of the low-rent program will depend upon the success of the projects, and that continuous employment of the groups to be housed is essential to the success of the projects. Moreover, Negro communities generally are slum areas. The worst slum areas cannot be eradicated without appreciable housing benefits to Negroes. To date about 30% of the total financial allotment for Federal low-rent projects, consequently, has gone for the provision of Negro participation in the program. Also, to date the employment provided Negro workers in the building trades by the low-rent program has been equitable. In the entire program, about 25% of the total financial allotment will go for the provision of Negro participation.

From the Press of the Nation

Editorial of the Month

Graduated—For What?

***The Spokesman*, San Francisco, Calif.**

WHAT are young Aframerican graduates to do? They cannot find even menial work. The professions are overcrowded. They lack the capital required for business enterprise, and if they had it, its risk would be too great. Family life is undermined by economic insecurity and intellectual stagnation. The church's value as a social center is nullified by its preoccupation with the life after death. There is no place in politics for America's Tenth Man. Is there no way out? Indeed, yes.

Young Negro Americans have two alternatives. On the one hand, they may surrender to the "tides of circumstance" and drift with the world. They may accept a menial's place, drown their aspirations in mediocrity, renounce effort, disclaim their vision of the good life, discard great expectations, and reconcile themselves to the world as they find it. This is not an heroic way, not the way of "educated" men and women.

The other alternative, however, is a test of their education. It is the way of social change. It demands that they dedicate their energies and equipment to the gigantic task of reconstructing society so that material goods can be used to conserve and enrich human life, so that human life can have significance and direction. This alternative is the duty of youth who have had the advantage of formal training; and the fulfillment of this duty is as indispensable to their personal development as to social reformation.

Therefore, let our graduates be undismayed by the confusion of the present era. It is a passing phase which they may help to complete. Let them cling to the dream and the will to change the world. This dream and this will are today the only stars to which youth may hitch its wagon without instant upset.

The NRA was doubtless a benefit to some, but the Negro derived small advantage under its operation. Those who were entrusted with enforcing the provisions of the codes utterly disregarded them when the Negro was involved.

In some cases the Negro actually lost. In other cases employers positively refused to pay Negroes code wages. Negroes were displaced by white workers, and suffered on account of NRA.

We join with those who acclaim the decision of the Court. The attempt to regiment all thinking and all activities was a grievous blunder, in the first place.—*The Star of Zion.*

The case of Angelo Herndon has been discussed from almost every angle in the past two years.

The case interests us Georgians particularly because it is a Georgia affair.

The Georgia situation suggests itself to us when we listen to a speech of our governor. He has taken it upon himself to criticize the Federal government and point out the injustices and mistakes of the national administration. We could suggest a more fitting field for the governor's efforts, his own state for example. He said in a recent speech that if something isn't done in Washington the "country is going to hell." He did not have to tell us which state is going to do the leading.—Savannah *Journal.*

In addition to the all-white jury evil, Negroes have also meekly submitted to an unconstitutional separate school law. We are not talking about the actual separation of the races, but on the other hand we refer to the inequitable division of the tax for education. The method of taxation as provided for under the school laws of Oklahoma will not stand investigation by the United States Supreme Court, and this is where Negroes must immediately start as soon as the Hollins case is out of the way.—Oklahoma *Black Dispatch.*

It is disagreeable to complain that in everything the administration does the Negro gets the rotten end of the deal, but the wage differential in codes and the gross discrimination in the work relief scales point that way.—Iowa *Bystander.*

We understand that the owners of the Star, Strand and Criterion Theatres are already feeling the effects of the agitation by the colored motion picture projectionists for positions in these theatres.

The demands of these operators are reasonable and just and as they should be. These theatres, as will be remembered, are located in the thickly populated Negro neighborhoods and ninety-five per cent and more of the patronage comes from the colored people.

Representatives of Negro organizations state that they are able to furnish competent operators and they want their chance. Just what the position of the white local operators' unions will take in regard to this matter we are not informed. But, it is hoped that they will concede to this demand as a matter of right justice.—St. Louis *Argus.*

Along with other offensive terms used by some whites in addressing Negroes is "You People." Many of those who use the term mean no offense whatever. Some of them are among the best friends of the race, who are laboring valiantly to help it.

But the term, "You People," connotes a separateness and distinctiveness to which the Negro is inhospitable. The Negro prefers that one come among them and address them as a man or woman speaking to men and women without any hint or suggestion of superiority or inferiority.

The Negro is charged with being hypersensitive and upon some questions we think he is; but it is natural that a people oppressed and discriminated against on every side; exploited and humiliated constantly; pillaged and robbed by those who profess friendship and affection for them, should be highly sensitive.—*Star of Zion.*

Following the footsteps of his friend, the governor, the Hon. Tom Linder of the Agricultural department of the state, is sore against the federal government, and greatly so, because the supreme court of the United States a few weeks ago justly decided that the names of Negroes should be placed in the jury box. He states that Georgia should remain a "white man's" commonwealth. To fully carry out his idea he alludes to seceding from the Union. This is idle talk which belittles him to a considerable degree. This was attempted many years ago and the result is well known.—Savannah *Tribune.*

The anti-anti-lynch law Senators claim that each State ought to be allowed to allow its own lynchings.—Boston, Mass., *Morning Globe.*

Spingarn Medal

(*Continued from page 202*)

of her race and for the restoration of the home of Frederick Douglas.

9. **George W. Carver**, head of the Department of Research and Experiment Station of Tuskegee Institute. Presented September 4, 1923, at Kansas City, Kansas, by Hon. Charles B. Griffith, Attorney-General of Kansas. Award for distinguished research in agricultural chemistry.

10. **Roland Hayes**, singer. Presented July 1, 1924, at Philadelphia, Pa., by Dr. Josiah H. Penniman, Provost and President of the University of Pennsylvania. The presentation was by proxy due to the absence of Mr. Hayes in Europe. Personal presentation was made April 7, 1925, in New York City by Mr. Walter Damrosch of the New York Symphony. Award for "reputation which he has gained as a singer in England, Germany and France and especially in America where he was last year soloist for the Boston Symphony Orchestra, . . . and because in all his singing Mr. Hayes has so finely interpreted the beauty and charm of the Negro folk song."

11. **James Weldon Johnson**, former U. S. Consul in Venezuela and Nicaragua; former editor; Secretary of the N.A.A.C.P. Presented June 30, 1925, by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois. Awarded to Mr. Johnson as author, diplomat and public servant.

12. **Carter G. Woodson**, for ten years' devoted service in collecting and publishing records of the Negro in America, culminating in the publication of "Negro Orators and Their Orations" and "Free Negro Heads of Families in the United States in 1830." Presented June 29, 1926, by Dr. John Haynes Holmes.

13. **Anthony Overton**, "because of his success in a long business career and for the crowning achievement of securing the admission of the Victory Life Insurance Company as the first Negro organization permitted to do insurance business under the rigid requirements of the State of New York." Presented June 28, 1927, at Indianapolis, Ind., by Dr. W. E. B. Du Bois.

14. **Charles W. Chestnutt**, for his "pioneer work as a literary artist depicting the life and struggle of Americans of Negro descent, and for his long and useful career as scholar, worker and freeman of one of America's greatest cities." Presented July 3, 1928, at Los Angeles, Calif., by Hon. Buron R. Fitts, Lieutenant-Governor of California.

15. **Mordecai Wyatt Johnson**, President of Howard University, "for his successful administration as first Negro President of the leading Negro University in America, and especially for his leadership in securing, during the past year, legal authority for appropriations to Howard University by the government of the United States." Presented July 2, 1929, at Cleveland, O., by Dr. Charles F. Thwing, President Emeritus of Western Reserve University.

16. **Henry A. Hunt**, Principal of Fort Valley High and Industrial School, Fort Valley, Georgia, "for twenty-five years of modest, faithful, unselfish and devoted service in the education of Negroes of rural Georgia, and to the teaching profession in that state." Presented July 1, 1930, at Springfield, Mass., by Dr. William Allan Neilson, President of Smith College.

17. **Richard Berry Harrison**, "whose fine and reverent characterization of the Lord in Marc Connelly's play, 'The Green Pastures' has made that play the outstanding dramatic accomplishment of America in the Year 1930. But the Medal is given to Mr. Harrison not simply for this crowning accomplishment, but for the long years of his work as dramatic reader and entertainer, interpreting to the mass of colored people in church and school the finest specimens of English drama from Shakespeare down. It is fitting that in the sixty-seventh year of his life he should receive widespread acclaim for a role that typifies and completes his life work." Presented March 22, 1931, by Hon. Herbert H. Lehman, Lieutenant-Governor of the State of New York.

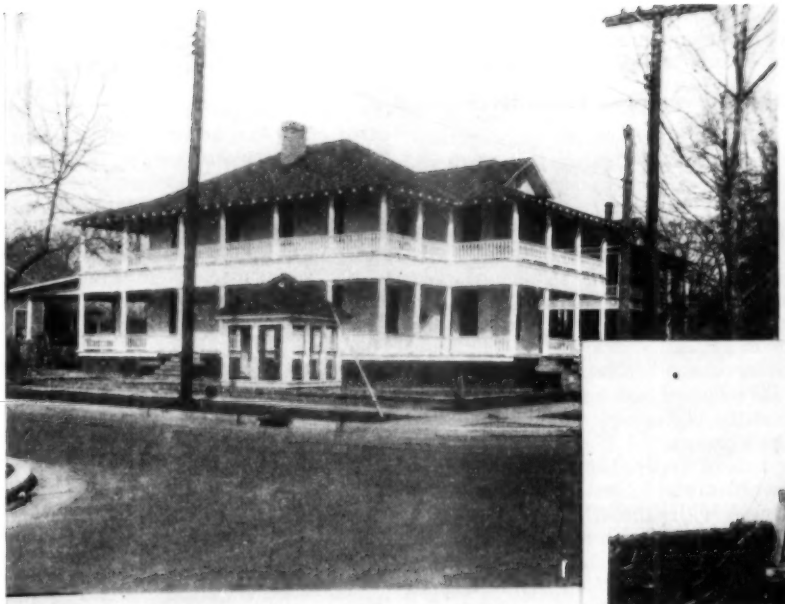
18. **Robert R. Moton**, Tuskegee Institute. Presented May 20, 1932, by Hon. Bronson Cutting, U. S. Senator from New Mexico.

19. **Max Yergan**, for ten years American Y.M.C.A. secretary among the native students of South Africa, "a missionary of intelligence, tact and self-sacrifice, representing the gift of cooperation and culture which American Negroes may send back to their Motherland; and he inaugurated last year an unusual local movement for interracial understanding among black and white students." Presented July 1, 1933, at Chicago, Ill., by Edwin R. Embree, President of the Julius Rosenwald Fund.

20. **Dean William Taylor Burwell Williams** of Tuskegee Institute "for his long service as field agent of the Slater and Jeanes fund and the General Education Board, his comprehensive knowledge of the field of Negro education and educational equipment and his sincere efforts for their betterment." Presented June 29, 1934, at Oklahoma City, Okla., by the Reverend J. Raymond Henderson, pastor of Wheat Street Baptist Church, Atlanta, Ga.

SELECTED HOMES FROM NINE STATES

THE CRISIS *presents some of the photographs sent by owners of beautiful homes in various parts of the country. Above,* (8) *the home of Theodore W. Jones, Richmond, Va.* (9) *Residence of Dr. and Mrs. W. S. Quinland, Nashville, Tenn.* (10) *The home of F. R. Williams, Tulsa, Okla. On the opposite page:* (1) *"The Southland" home of Charles Spear, Jr., Sumter, S. C.* (2) *Residence of Professor George T. Simpson, Wilberforce, O.* (3) *Home of Mrs. John Taylor, Great Falls, Mont.* (4) *The home of Mrs. Mary A. Henderson and Mrs. Nellie A. Johnson, Chicago, Ill.* (5) *Residence of Dr. and Mrs. Roscoe C. Ward, Port Chester, N. Y.* (6) *Residence of Dr. R. W. Harrison, Natchez, Miss.* (7) *Home of the Reverend and Mrs. Roy L. Young, Meridian, Miss.*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Missionaries

(*Continued from page* 198)

captured Mengo, the King's capital. The territory was then divided between the Protestants and the Catholics. This marked the second stage in the subjugation of Uganda.

Missionaries Quarrel Over Spoils

The missionaries soon began to quarrel over the spoils. Each wanted to boss the other. Finally fighting broke out among them. The Mohammedans and those natives who remained loyal to Mwanga started to attack both sides, which became so threatening that the Protestants appealed to the East Africa Company, which was at that time about 800 miles away along the East African coast grabbing up as much territory as it could, to come to their rescue. The Catholics did not like this, but better could not be done. So in 1889, the directors of the company despatched a military mission to Uganda under the command of Sir Frederick Jackson. He was later joined by Lord Lugard, then a captain in the service of the East Africa Company.

With the coming of military aid, the Protestant missionaries, having played well their part in making the first opening in the country, turned over what they had already annexed and retired in the background.

Germans on the Scene

The Catholics realizing that the Protestants had out-maneuvered them, began to foster anti-British propaganda amongst the blacks. This led them to render objective aid to the German East Africa Company, whose representative, Dr. Karl Peters soon appeared on the scene demanding a part of the loot. Since France could not get Uganda, the Catholics out of sheer revenge, wanted to see the Germans beat the English to it. So bent were they to get even with the Protestants, who were having the laugh on them, that in 1892, they organized all native catholics and civil-religious war broke out. The Germans, however, did not participate; for the British had already come to a settlement with them by making concessions to them in other parts of the world under the terms of the Treaty of Heligoland in 1890. So the fight was one between the *Wa Ingleza* and the *Wa Fransa*. Thanks to the support which the English party received from the military garrison, they drove their opponents away. Then Lord Lugard with the use of Sudanese native troops carried through the pacification of the country. After peace was restored, he proceeded to England and negotiated with the British Imperial Government to take over the administration from the company. The Government agreed to this as the company, a joint-stock corporation, was incurring much indebtedness in maintaining its own private army of occupation.

British Government Takes Over

The final stage in the subjugation and annexation of Uganda took place in 1893, when the British Foreign Office sent out its own representative to take over the administration of Buganda state from the agents of the East Africa Company. In the following year, the British officially declared a protectorate over the country, and from then on gradually extended its authority over the other native states until all Uganda passed into their hands around the beginning of the century.

The conquest of Uganda shows the technique of imperialist penetration into backward areas. First, came the missionaries with the Bible; then, the traders of the Charter Company with liquor; and finally, the soldiers with machine guns. It is this technique which Mussolini is now trying to apply to Abyssinia; but the dictator reckons without the cost.

No one who knows the historic traditions of the Ethiopians, their martial spirit and ardent love for liberty, coupled with the hostile climate and difficult terrain of their country, expects anything else but disaster for this fascist adventure.

Disaster Faces Italy

The Diplomatic Correspondent of Manchester *Guardian* (May 17) writes: "The Italian expedition is considered to be a personal idea of Signor Mussolini's that is being carried out against the advice of Italian military experts. The chances of its success are considered doubtful unless the Abyssinian tribes can be intimidated by a mere display of force. Military operations on a big scale are thought almost impossible by reason of the climate and the nature of the country.

"At the same time, it is difficult for Italy to abandon the expedition altogether, for confessed failure might react heavily on the already precarious Italian internal situation."

Bullying will not succeed, for the Ethiopians are more determined than ever in their history to defend the 3,000 years' independence of their country, and to drive the whites out of Africa.

What Is to Be Done?

The peoples of African descent in America, as well as elsewhere, have a great moral duty to perform in this hour of danger. How can this be best done? Personally, we think that the N.A.A.C.P. or some other organization (it does not matter which) representing and enjoying the confidence of Afro-americans, should convene a national conference of all Negro organizations,—religious, political, educational, social, labor, fraternal, etc., for the purpose of organizing common action on behalf of the Ethiopian people. Such a coordinated effort can achieve tremendous results, and demonstrate to the peoples of Africa that their descendants in the New World have not forgotten their ties of blood and race with them. For when all is said and done, the struggles of the Abyssinians is fundamentally a part of the struggles of the black race the world over for national freedom, economic, political, social and racial emancipation.

Gilpin Players

(*Continued from page* 206)

Gilpin Players contributed a fifteen-hundred-dollar collection of native African art to the Cleveland Museum of Art and the Museum of Natural History. These gifts were the first instances where collections of this kind were given to museums by Negroes and attracted much attention in the curatory world. The collections have become the nuclei for later gifts from many interested persons.

Among the important contributions of the Players, that toward racial adjustment, although beyond concrete evaluation, is of undoubted value. In plays dealing with the present-day social problems the Players have served as a means of expressing the thoughts and feelings of the Negro. It is not beyond reason to assume that some members of their audiences have carried away from the Karamu theatre a better understanding of the racial conflict that exists in America. It is to be hoped that they have also carried away a desire to aid in bringing this conflict to an end.

It is a far cry in the professional theatre from the dubious welcome given the first serious venture of the Negro actor into drama in the *Emperor Jones* to the extravagant welcome given his appearance in *The Green Pastures*. Still the future of the Negro in the American theatre is far from secure. In his search for the security of an audience and the freedom to act, the Negro actor will do well to look not only toward the Broadway stage but toward the undeveloped hinterlands as well. The Negro actor will have to fight for recognition and appreciation, and the Little Theatre offers him a puissant weapon. The battle for a future in drama, like the battle for an economic future, will be fought on a thousand fronts. It is to be hoped that the attack of the Gilpin Players will be the signal for a thousand raids by Negro Little Theatre groups on the smug barriers raised against the Negro actor.

Along the N.A.A.C.P. Battlefront

Los Angeles Branch Wins School Fight in Monrovia

The school situation in Monrovia, Calif., which involved a dispute between the Negro parents and the board of trustees of Monrovia came to a conclusion June 3 when the court dismissed the new trials that were pending against them. In the earthquake of March, 1933, the Huntington school in Monrovia was badly damaged and because of its unsafe condition and the refusal of the board to close it as they had other schools in the district where the white children were attending, several of the Negro parents refused to permit their children to attend the school. As a result of this refusal the school district saw fit to file complaints against the parents for violation of the state compulsory attendance law and they were prosecuted and convicted in Monrovia for the crime. Appeals were taken from all convictions and the appellate courts reversed the convictions and granted new trials to each of the parents on the ground that the unsafety of the school would constitute a lawful excuse for the refusal of the parents to send their children to school and that if this could be ultimately established the parents could not be compelled to send their children there.

The multiplicity of suits for violation of the compulsory attendance law required that some relief be given and pending the outcome of the appeals a writ of mandate was sought of the superior court of Los Angeles County asking that the court compel the board of trustees of Monrovia to transfer these Negro students to other schools in the district. This the board resisted in order to prevent the court making such an order that would ultimately break down a policy of discrimination that had existed in the district for several years. It was their desire that in order to keep the Negro children from attending the other schools where white children attended that they be made to attend a school that was beset with many impending dangers as was the Huntington school. The mandate proceedings required several days of trial. There was such a conflict of testimony over the structural safety of the building that Judge Parker Wood, who heard the case went to the school and made an inspection. At the conclusion of the hearing the court found that the building was unsafe and that the board had abused its discretion in compelling the parents to send their children to school and ordered the writ of mandate to issue compelling the board to transfer the Negro and Mexican children who had been attending the Huntington school to other schools in the elementary school district. The result of this decision has meant the closing of the Huntington school and the attendance of colored and Mexican children at the other schools where the white children are attending.

The new trials were dismissed as a result of the outcome of the mandate hearing. These cases were personally handled by Thomas L. Griffith, Jr., president of the Los Angeles branch, and the entire expense was borne by the Los Angeles branch.

Soviet Is Silent

In the critical Italian-Ethiopian dispute before the Council of the League of Nations in May, Maxim Litvinov, Commissar of Foreign Affairs for the Soviet Union, who was presiding over the Council, remained conspicuously silent on the moral issue of Italian aggression into Ethiopia, although he was heralded by observers in Geneva as being the only person who would be likely to speak out. Because the Soviet Union has proclaimed loudly its opposition to imperialist war and its friendship for weaker peoples, and especially its friendship for the darker, exploited peoples of the world, the N.A.A.C.P. cabled M. Litvinov asking him why he had kept silent. It is a matter of record that the capitalist nations of the world have openly expressed opposition to the Italian movements against the only independent black nation on the globe, but Russia has uttered no official word. No answer has been received from M. Litvinov.

Wage Protest

Prompt protest against the announced wage scale of $19 a month in the South for those to be employed under the five billion dollar works relief bill was made by the association to President Roosevelt.

Mexico Lifts Ban

The association joined others in representations to the Mexican government to have restrictions against Negro tourists and students lifted so they could enter Mexico. The secretary conferred personally with Mexican officials at the consulate in New York and received assurances that permits would be granted Negro travelers freely.

Officers and winning team of the Springfield, Mass., branch annual membership campaign, March 31 to April 7. Seated left to right: Archie Jacobs, Mrs. Rosa Patterson, Mrs. Beatrice Peebles, Captain; Mrs. Hattie Johnson, Mrs. Grace Wright. Standing, left to right, George C. Gordon, president; Dr. Bruce T. Bowens, secretary; Carl R. Babcock, colonel of the drive; Alford H. Tavernier, treasurer; and W. Norman Watts

Equal Rights Bill

Governor George H. Earle of Pennsylvania has just signed an equal rights bill passed by the state legislature. The new measure which replaces the old and ineffective civil rights law, was proposed by a colored legislator, Rep. Hobson Reynolds, of Philadelphia, and is modeled upon the New York civil rights law.

State Oratorical Contest

Perhaps the greatest state event sponsored by the N.A.A.C.P. anywhere in the country (certainly in point of large audiences attracted) is the annual oratorical contest in New Jersey. On May 31 the fourth annual contest was staged in Jersey City with high school orators from eleven branches competing for prizes. Branches bring their members and well-wishers by bus and private car so that always a large auditorium is filled to overflowing.

Every year since the contests were started the Governor of New Jersey has been present and it is a compliment to the governors and the event itself that never has the chief executive of the state made a political speech. Former Governor A. Harry Moore gave straightforward, earnest encouragement to the young people and nowhere in his speeches was any special reference to colored young people.

On May 31, Governor Harold G. Hoffman not only came to greet the orators, but sat through the entire program and pinned the medals upon the winners. He, like all city and state officials who come to these contests, expressed his pleasure at hearing of the history, struggles and hopes of colored Americans through the lips of eager young orators, each voicing a plea for a square deal for his people and a fair chance in life for himself.

Miss Georgiana Hammond of the Jersey City branch, won the first prize of a gold medal and $25 with her oration on "The Negro and the Constitution." Second prize, a silver medal and $10 went to William Glover, Jr., of the Bayonne branch, for his speech, "The Destiny of Our Children." Augustus Johnson of Plainfield took third prize, a bronze medal and $5 with "America and the New Negro." Honorable mention went to James Wright of Elizabeth with "Tribute to Booker T. Washington." The Newark branch took home the silver cup given by John G. White for the largest delegation present.

Prizes were given by Miss Eleanor K. Terrell, gold; James T. Davis, silver; Joseph B. Judkins and Miss Clara Watson, bronze. Dr. Clement De Freitas, president of the state conference of branches, sponsor of the contests, was state director of the event. Other officers of the state conference: Mrs. Mary Hayes Allen, Montclair and Dr. J. T. Davis, Elizabeth, vice presidents; Melvin Halsey, Plainfield, secretary; and James H. Curry, Jersey City, treasurer.

Branch News

The **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch is undertaking the local sponsorship of the national essay contest on living Negroes being promoted by the Commission on Interracial Cooperation of Atlanta.

The general chairman of the **Scranton, Pa.,** branch membership drive is Paul Blue. Edward Blackwell and Mrs. Bessie Smith are team captains.

Mr. R. J. Simmons, president of the **Duluth, Minn.,** branch was elected delegate to the annual conference at St. Louis and Henry Williams, secretary, was elected alternate delegate.

Attorney J. LeRoy Jordan of Elizabeth delivered the principal address at the meeting of the **Plainfield, N. J.,** branch May 26. Musical numbers were given by the junior choir of Shiloh Baptist Church under the direction of Mrs. J. B. Judkins, accompanied by Mrs. Marjorie Smith.

Dean Pickens was the speaker for the **Saginaw, Mich.,** branch May 23.

Herbert Fritz, superintendent of Memorial Hospital, was the guest speaker May 23 of the **Johnstown, Pa.,** branch upon the occasion of the closing of its spring membership campaign.

Dr. Henry Roe Cloud, superintendent of Haskell Institute at Lawrence, Kansas, was the speaker for the **Kansas City, Kansas,** branch May 19.

Dean Pickens was the speaker May 27 at a mass meeting sponsored by the **Muskegon, Mich.,** branch. Musical and dramatic selections were given by the Star Light Harmony Four, Virgil Cabaniss and Miss Nellie Wingate. Mrs. Bertha Smith is president of the branch. Other officers are: Grant Gardner, vice-president; Julius Curry, secretary; Mrs. Gardner, assistant secretary; Mrs. E. Bradley, treasurer.

Professor Paul H. Douglas of the department of economics at the University of Chicago, addressed the first of a series of forum meetings under the auspices of the **Chicago, Ill.,** branch on May 26, on the subject "Which Way—Negro Labor." Officers of the branch are: A. C. MacNeal, president; Graham T. Perry, vice-president; C. A. Hansberry, secretary; and William P. Harrison, treasurer. The committee arranging the labor series consists of: Irvin C. Mollison, chairman; Sidney Jones, Samuel Stratton, Mabel Byrd, the Reverend Joseph W. Nicholson, Truman K. Gibson, Jr., and Loring B. Moore.

Dr. R. Nathaniel Dett was elected the president of the **Rochester, N. Y.,** branch at the May meeting. Other officers are: Professor Luther C. Fry, of the University of Rochester, vice-president; John Brown, secretary; Mrs. Samuel R. Ball, treasurer. Members of the executive committee are: the Reverend James Claire Taylor, minister of African Zion M. E. Church; the Reverend Mr. Bennett, the Reverend Dr. James E. Rose, minister of Mt. Olivet Baptist Church; Mrs. Mary T. L. Gennett, Mrs. Edward Elsworth, Miss Estelle Fitzgerald, Secretary of the Colored Branch, Y. W. C. A.; George W. Burks, John J. Skully, Alonzo G. Grace, assistant professor, University of Rochester.

Dean Pickens spoke for the **Terre Haute, Ind.,** branch June 18.

Mrs. P. G. Green was elected president of the **Waterloo, Ia.,** branch. Other officers named are: Wendell Benjamin, vice-president; Mrs. L. B. Furgerson, secretary; Miss Jane Thompson, treasurer. The directors are: the Reverend J. R. Morgan, M. F. Fields, Dr. L. B. Furgerson, the Reverend C. W. Turner, the Reverend H. J. Parker, Miss Zelma Warren, Judge G. W. Wood, Mrs. Carrie Bright, the Reverend Edna Bruner and Mrs. J. L. Page.

The **Akron, O.,** branch gave its third annual spring musicale May 5 for the benefit of the Association. Students and graduates of Oberlin Conservatory of Music appeared. Among the other artists on the program were: Floy Debnam Dunbar, Edith Player Brown, Nerrissa L. Brokenburr, Jean E. Coston, Nathaniel F. Gatlin, Ellen L. Johnson, Henry Rainbow, Josephine Muse, the Southern Melodeers and Walker Anderson. Emmer Lancaster is president of the branch.

Walter C. Bellows was speaker at the launching of the annual spring membership campaign of the **St. Clairsville, O.,** branch.

John C. Bruce was elected delegate to the annual conference by the **District of Columbia** branch.

Theodore Berry, president of the **Cincinnati, O.,** branch was the speaker at the final meeting of the season of the Charleston, W. Va., branch May 12. The West Virginia State College students presented a special musical program. The whole program was sponsored by the Alpha Phi Alpha fraternity.

Dean Charles H. Houston was the principal speaker for the **Norfolk, Va.,** branch May 26.

The Northern California Council of branches held its quarterly session April 26 in Pacific Grove, Calif.

The juniors of the **Detroit, Mich.,** branch marched in the Memorial Day anti-war parade of the Michigan Youth Congress.

Miss Edna Morgan, representing the **Staten Island, N. Y.,** branch, won the annual oratorical contest staged by branches in the metropolitan New York area May 3. Her subject was "Segregation and Discrimination." She was awarded a gold medal and the Staten Island branch was awarded permanent possession of the cup donated last year by Governor Herbert H. Lehman to go the branch winning the oratorical contest two years in succession. There was some disagreement last year over the tie between the Staten Island and the representative of the **Brooklyn, N. Y.,** branch, but the Brooklyn branch executive committee later withdrew from the contest leaving the cup in the possession of Staten Island. Second and third places on May 3 went to Miss Winnifred Vanderlip and Miss Sarah Ross, both of the **New Rochelle, N. Y.,** branch.

Mrs. Ella Skinner, prominent worker in the **Madison, N. J.,** branch died May 11 as a result of injuries received in an automobile accident.

Messrs. Burton W. Musser, state senator and P. S. Marthakis, member of the House of Representatives, addressed the May meeting of the **Salt Lake City, Utah,** branch.

The newly organized **Newburgh, N. Y.,** branch gave its first large benefit social affair in May.

One of the most active junior branches in the country is located at **Johnstown, Pa.**

Field Secretary William Pickens spent two days in **Port Huron, Mich.,** in the interest of the local branch of the N. A. A. C. P. He spoke on May 15 at Wesley Hall, Lapeer Avenue, and at Mt. Olivet Baptist Church on May 16. At 3 p. m. May 16 he spoke at the Cleveland School under the auspices of the Parent Teachers Association of which Mrs. J. R. Ware is president.

He spoke of the partial recording of facts in the histories of this country as taught in schools and colleges. That histories as written and taught, were merely propaganda. The local branch has not the backing of all the ministers in this community. A few offer stubborn resistance, and there is one church in which a united front, except three officers and about ten members, oppose the N. A. A. C. P., not even allowing it to enter the doors of this church.

Knowledge is power, and law is force, declared Harold Simmelkjaer, attache of the federal district attorney's office in Manhattan, where he addressed the **Jamaica, N. Y.,** branch of the N. A. A. C. P., at Olympia Hall in Jamaica, at the public meeting. The speaker's subject was "Civil Rights of the Negro." Mr. Simmelkjaer urged that Negroes use well qualified lawyers in fighting their civil battles.

The annual membership drive of the branch will continue until June 15. So far about 50 new members have been enrolled and several successful bridge and whist parties given to raise money. Mrs. Sybil Powers is the hard working chairman of the drive and she is assisted by Mrs. Fred Jones and Mrs. Gordon Jones.

The **Monrovia, Calif.,** branch celebrated its first anniversary at a mass meeting, Sunday afternoon, April 28, the nucleus of the branch having been formed, under the leadership of William W. Robinson, by Mrs. Daisy E. Lampkin, April 26, 1934. J. H. Shackelford of **Los Angeles, Calif.**, branch was the principal speaker for the occasion. Mrs. M. A. Holbrook of New York, who was the guest of Mr. and Mrs. Shackelford, made some remarks. On account of the refusal of a few parents to send their children to the condemned and segregated Huntington drive school, that School has been closed and the children assigned to other schools—another fight won by the N.A.A.C.P.

Masquerade

(*Continued from page 201*)

"'Ef you like it, Mistah Beah, I'll bring you some evvaday.'

"'Why yo-all is jus' fine,' say Mistah Beah. 'Won' yo-all come in my house an' set down fo' a spell?'

"So the rabbit walk in an' visit. When he was a-gittin' ready to go, he say, 'What's this, Mistah Beah? Hit sho is sweet-smellin'.'

"'Oh, that ol' bag ain' nothin' much. I found it on the road one day. Reckon it's one o' them silly chahms. Yo-all can have it, ef yo' wants.'

"'Oh, thank you, Mistah Beah. Hit sho do smell sweet. An' tomorrow, I bring you some mo' honey.'

"'Tha's fine, li'l rabbit, 'cause I sho do love honey!'"

Maw stop an' grin, showin' all them white teeth o' hers. She say, "Yas, *suh*, big brown beah sho do love honey."

The chillun all clapped they han's an' kep' shoutin', "Big Brown Beah sho *do* love honey!" Then all the grown folks staht to have fun; so they make up this verse:

"Big Brown Beah sho do love hon-ey,
Big Brown Beah sho do love hon-ey,
Big Brown Beah, he ac' so funny,
But Big Brown Beah sho do love honey."

They all joined hands an' skip roun' an' roun'. "I be the Beah," say Long-Tall Joe, the bes' cotton-pickah in them pahts. "Leave me be the li'l rabbit," say Merry, the littles' one in the ring. An' whilst they went through the whole thing, evvabody was happy. They fo'-got they was slaves; they fo-got they was boun' to work whethah they want to or not—leas'ways, evvabody but Jake.

Jake, he look like a tree wha's been chopped down. He didn' say nothin', wouldn' look at nobody—jus' set theah an' then sneak off behin' the cabin. . .

TWO Sundays pass by, an' Jake git worse an' worse. One day, whilst maw was up to the big house a-washin' clothes, Jake come runnin' in the cabin an' staht to roll up a bundle o' things. "I ain' gonna stay heah no longah. Don' nevah keer, ef I do git cotched—or die. Tha's bettah than to stay heah an' listen to Maw Haney sweet-talk the white folks, whilst they drives us clean to the grave. That ol' woman ain' got no sense—ain' nevah gonna git none. I wants to be free!" When he say this las', he pick up his roll—but he drap it right quick.

Jake was lookin' at the do'. "Maw! Maw Haney, don' look at me lak that!"

Maw walk in so easy, an' say, 'Jake, I got somep'n to say to you, but don' nevah tell nobody else. . . . I jus' come from talkin' to a white lady an' a gen'-mun from up in Ill'nois. They is nice folks. I knows that, 'cause I got 'em to git Birdie an' her maw 'way from down heah, an' take 'em up no'th."

Jake an' me was almos' chokin'.

Maw kep' on, "Now they is gonna see to you, come sun-down. They is gonna wait fo' you, right behin' the magnoly tree."

Jake, he stumble ovah the bench. Whilst he was down on his knees, he grab maw's skirt with the red figgahs on it, an' whispah so hoarse-like, "Maw! Maw Haney!"

Civil Rights

(*Continued from page 207*)

all like them, can go to hell, so far as I personally am concerned."

To fail to pass the bill by only eight votes, after fifteen members, obeying the Klan, had walked out, was really a victory. For although the Negroes were fighting each other, white opposition was united: besides the Ku Klux Klan, there were the Hotel Association of Indiana, the Theatre Owners Association, and even a new organization made for the purpose and cynically styling itself "The Non-Interracial Association."

Organization Valuable

But the thing which colored citizens need to note is this: White representatives from communities where colored people are well organized, especially where they have branches of the N.A.A.C.P., voted for the civil rights amendment; while those from communities where Negroes have no organized power, defeated the bill. One representative who did not know that there was an N.A.A.C.P. branch in his town, had voted against the bill at first, but when the officers of the branch got in touch with him, he changed his vote, saying frankly that he had found out that the best colored people of his district wanted this legislation.

Dr. W. T. Bailey and his wife (who is president of the Indiana State Conference of Branches) have filed a suit against a local theatre in Marion that denied them entrance to the first floor. If the Richardson bill had passed, there would be no way for them to lose the case. As it is, they may win the case under the 1885 law, but may be denied adequate damages.

And what must the colored people of Indiana do? Why, they must fight on under the old law,—fight on for a new and better law,—and even if there were no statutory law, they should *fight on*. There would still be the fundamental laws of life and self-preservation.

Three Poems

By Thomas Fortune Fletcher

To One Who Died in the Spring

The Earth is an empty husk
And I roll within
Like a pea in a shrunken pod.

Would that The Gardener
Had cut the flower of my life
With His Sickle
When you were garnered in . . .

The Garden is so lonely
I cannot wait for the Harvest!

Request

Wrap me in a shroud of dull blue
The color of my dreams
I shall rest then
In the Dark Earth with
Empty dreams unfulfilled!

I Have Found Beauty Infinitely Sad

I have found Beauty infinitely sad
A flower, a star, a sunset,
Has never made me glad.
Beauty wakens memories
Long-since buried deep
When they are uncovered
I can only weep!

NEXT MONTH

The August issue will be the 24th annual education number — and will contain pictures and news of college graduates. Photographs and information must reach The Crisis by July 2.

Book Review

CANNIBAL COUSINS by John H. Craige. Minton Balch and Company, New York, 1934. $2.50.

There are books published that are innocent; others that are bad; and some that are vicious and injurious. This volume by a former member of the U. S. Marine corps falls under the third classification very positively. Mr. Craige dedicates his work to those who laid down their lives in the jungles and hills of a land of barbarism, and these dedicatory words breathe the spirit in which this book is conceived—of prejudice, hate, ignorance and sensationalism. The title itself is utterly misleading as giving a distorted and malicious view of Haiti and the Haitians.

This particular story of Haiti, according to the author, is to be formal history. Such works, he asserts, perhaps facetiously, are usually the product of "cloistered jackasses." This marine officer, one gathers, will be limited by no formal methods, no diligent digging into the sources, no respect for documentary evidence or the ordinary considerations imposed by the facts. This volume will be, in short, the contribution of what Mr. Craige exultantly calls "a hard-boiled egg."

Gossip, personal experience, reminiscence, constitute the bulk of this astonishing work. Mr. Craige finds the opportunity of delivering himself of a number of pungent observations on imperialism and the military occupation. He says, "I am an honest imperialist. I believe we had a perfect right to go into Haiti. ————I believe that our occupation was honest, conscientious, and benevolent and that we conferred immeasurable benefits on the Haitians." Haiti is all bad, the marines pious invaders who were eager only for the progress of Haiti. Those who criticized knew nothing of this noble mission. The American journals that questioned method and motive were nothing but "negrophile" periodicals bred in ignorance and calumny.

Mr. Craige's little study of three hundred pages is misinformed, biased, malevolent and in part actually libelous. As history the book is worthless. As propaganda it is worthy of an indignant protest. Perhaps it does not merit even that.

RICHARD F. PATTEE
Director of the Ibero-American Institute of the University of Puerto Rico

DR. W. E. B. DuBOIS

On June 13 the latest book by Dr. DuBois, "Black Reconstruction," was published by Harcourt, Brace and Company. Dr. DuBois calls it "an essay toward a history of the part which black folk played in the attempt to reconstruct democracy in America, 1860-1880." The final chapter of the 728-page book is entitled "The Propaganda of History" and contains this paragraph, which perhaps might be said to be a reason why Dr. DuBois wrote his book and why every Negro who has studied Reconstruction history has yearned for such a book to be written:

"This, then, is the book basis upon which today we judge Reconstruction. In order to paint the South as a martyr to inescapable fate, to make the North the magnanimous emancipator, and to ridicule the Negro as the impossible joke in the whole development, we have in fifty years, by libel, innuendo and silence, so completely misstated and obliterated the history of the Negro in America and his relation to its work and government that today it is almost unknown. This may be fine romance, but it is not science. It may be inspiring, but it is certainly not truth. And beyond this it is dangerous. It is not only part foundation of our present lawlessness and loss of democratic ideals; it has, more than that, led the world to embrace and worship the color bar as social salvation and it is helping to range mankind in ranks of mutual hatred and contempt, at the summons of a cheap and false myth."

The book will be reviewed in the August issue of the THE CRISIS.

Black Crucifix

By HAROLD P. MARLEY

Black-gum tree, on which the Negro hung,
I search thee out among thy fellows.
Slight is thy trunk; limbs straight and strong,
Like the man thou slew, all sinews.

'Twas January, and chill blew the wind,
Against hot brows of the mob and him.
Gibbet-like thou stood as a rope seared a limb,
Mutely condoning their cowardly whim.

Thou has bloomed; August's dread drought is here.
Behold, crimson leaves betray thy past!
The slow moving sap of thy conscience,
Reveals contributory guilt at last.

The breeze a-blowing among green trees,
Stirs thy blood-spotted fingers.
A catbird cries, "shame," and flees.
Raindrops of penance are falling.

Student Delegation to India Next October

FOR several years now the Indian Student Christian Movement has extended a repeated and urgent request to the Student Christian Movements in the United States to send a Negro delegation to visit in the colleges and universities of India. Our friends in India feel that a group of Negroes because of their religious and social experiences in this country has a distinctive contribution to make to them.

The Council of Student Christian Associations, representing the National Council of the Y.W.C.A. and the National Council of Student Christian Associations of the Y.M.C.A. felt that this trip to India was one of the most significant projects on which it might concentrate its efforts in 1935–36, particularly in view of the strongly recurrent tides of nationalism and racial antagonism which are observable in almost every section of the world. The trip is endorsed by the World's Student Christian Federation.

The delegation will sail October 1, arriving in Bombay, India, about November 1. Those who will make the trip are: Dr. Howard Thurman of the School of Religion at Howard University; his wife, Mrs. Sue Bailey Thurman; Mrs. Grace Towns Hamilton, and Edward G. Carroll. Dr. Thurman is a graduate of Morehouse College and the Colgate-Rochester Theological Seminary. He has been a leader in several student conferences each year and has lectured in some ninety-four colleges and universities from coast to coast. At the present time he is addressing himself to the problem of religion and the underprivileged. Mrs. Thurman is well-known in Y.W.C.A. circles and in the student movement. She has been a member of delegations to Europe and Canada and in 1931 was a member of the Hubert Herring Seminar in Mexico under the auspices of the Committee on Cultural Relations with Latin America. She has just returned from another visit to Mexico.

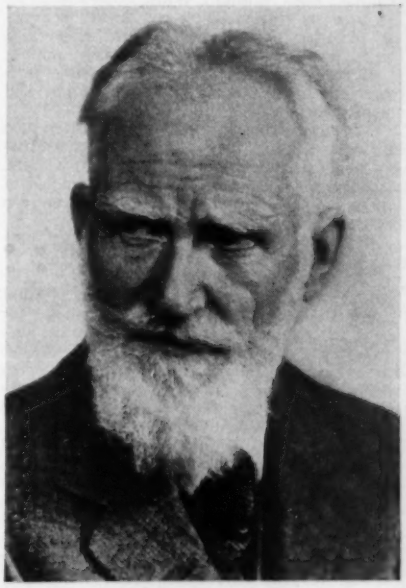
Mrs. Hamilton is a graduate of Atlanta and Ohio State Universities and at present is national student secretary of the Y.W.C.A., traveling in the South and Southwest. Her headquarters are in Atlanta.

Mr. Carroll is a graduate of Morgan College and Yale Divinity School. He is the minister of the John Wesley M.E. Church, Salem, Va.

In Bombay, members of the delegation will be met by Mr. Ralla Ram, executive secretary of the Student Christian Movement of India. They will visit the north of India working their way over to Calcutta and then south to Colombo. All of the important university centers that are not located in remote sections of the country will be visited. Plans are being made for their visiting interesting places in India such as Agra where the Taj Mahal is located. It is also hoped that the group will be able to visit Tagore and Gandhi.

Tentative plans are now being made for including China and Japan in their itinerary. Urgent invitations have come from both of these countries and if sufficient funds can be secured the group will spend at least two weeks in China and the same length of time in Japan.

Students over the country are contributing one-half of the budget for the trip and adult friends of international good will and the student movement are asked to contribute the other half. There still remains to be raised about $1,200. It is hoped that the colored people of America who can afford to do so will make a contribution toward the expenses of this delegation in order that the message of the situation of Negro students and the Negro people in America may be carried to the Student Christian Movement of India and thousands of university students in that country who have no first hand knowledge of the American race problem. The trip is not solely to interpret the American race problem, but to consider how the Christian students of both countries may strengthen and broaden a religious program which will be capable of caring for the great needs of all the people, colored and white alike. Further information may be secured from Mrs. Elizabeth S. Harrington, 600 Lexington Avenue, New York, N. Y., or Miss Marion Cuthbert at the same address. Checks should be made payable to Dorothy R. Currie, treasurer, Council of Christian Association, 347 Madison Avenue, New York, N. Y.



GEORGE BERNARD SHAW

According to an interview given a London daily paper June 11, George Bernard Shaw, famous writer, has advocated intermarriage between whites and blacks as the only means of solving the problem of maintaining South Africa's population. The playwright, just back from a trip to Africa, declared the white race there was not filling up South Africa and that the reason probably "is that there is too much sunshine for people with white skins." He declared that the probable remedy "is for them to darken their skins. This means in South Africa by marrying natives."

Edward G. Carroll

Grace T. Hamilton

Howard Thurman

Sue Bailey Thurman

LETTERS from READERS

From Mr. Stolberg

To the Editor of The Crisis:—As I remember when I was a member—with Lewis Gannett and Walter White appointed by Dr. Abram Harris—of a committee to reorganize The Crisis, I contended that The Crisis has a future in mass influence only if it militantly champions a left economic program and complete social desegregation and equality for the Negro.

This committee died still born after one luncheon meeting. And the fundamental reason was that the N.A.A.C.P. and The Crisis, as I am realizing with a growing number of others, cannot and will not sponsor a program beyond conventional civil libertarianism.

In a way, therefore, I was not at all surprised that The Crisis reacted editorially to my article on "Black Chauvinism" in *The Nation* of May 14 with so little fundamental understanding. What I was not prepared for is the journalistic shabbiness of deliberate misinterpretation of my point of view and the inexcusable way in which two little sentences were twisted out of a longer contex. Nobody who knows my stand through many years of journalism in militant defense of Negro rights, will of course fall for the silly accusation that I share "the older rabid southern Bourbon position." Needless to say, nobody could have honestly gauged from my article that I am against the higher education of the Negro, and needless to say that my criticism of Dr. DuBois's position plainly showed that what's wrong, in my opinion, with the "New Negro" who by and large represents the educated Negro, was that he ran away from the black masses in search of preferential treatment for himself; and that by so doing, he neglected his duty to fight for complete and unrestricted social equality. It is indeed this radical position which the N.A.A.C.P. refused to take clearly and equivocally when its whole social philosophy was challenged by Dr. DuBois.

Benjamin Stolberg

New York City

Editor's Note: Mr. Stolberg continues to be vague upon a certain sub-committee on which he was asked to serve last fall. Reference to it has no proper place in his letter, but because he drags it out once more (early in 1935 he announced to the press that he had resigned from the committee when, in truth, the committee, having performed its function, had been dissolved months before) we shall attempt to make a last reference to it to relieve Mr. Stolberg's apparent confusion. In August, 1934, Mr. Stolberg was a member of a subcommittee whose function was to consider The Crisis and make recommendations to a parent committee which was outlining a revised program for the N.A.A.C.P. His fellow members were Walter White and Lewis Gannett. The committee met and talked and it was agreed that Mr. White would draft the recommendations gone over at the meeting. He did so and on September 4 forwarded the draft for consideration to Mr. Gannett and Mr. Stolberg. Mr. Gannett suggested certain changes under date of September 5. Mr. Stolberg on September 5 wrote Mr. White: "I am returning the enclosed memorandum. It seems to me to express so exactly what our committee discussed that I can think of no changes to suggest. The thing for the N.A.A.C.P. is to work its general economic and other social program; then the policy of The Crisis would just naturally fall in line." Under date of September 6, 1934, the report of the sub-committee signed by Messrs. Stolberg, Gannett and White, went to the parent committee and was incorporated in that committee's report to the board of directors. On that date the life of the sub-committee ended, yet Mr. Stolberg, complaining above of "journalistic shabbiness," on the part of The Crisis, makes the deliberate statement that the committee died still-born after one meeting. . . . "And the fundamental reason was that the N.A.A.C.P. and The Crisis * * * cannot and will not sponsor a program beyond conventional civil libertarianism." Shabbiness, indeed!

We hesitate to charge Mr. Stolberg with shabbiness, but the last part of his first paragraph is something-or-other not quite on the high jousting plane to which he would hold The Crisis. Says he: "I contended that The Crisis has a future in mass influence only if it militantly champions a left economic program *and complete social desegregation and equality for the Negro.*" (Italics mine.) Maybe we are over-sensitive, or perhaps too addicted to shady journalistic tricks to understand clean, honest writing, but that coupling sounds to us suspiciously as though Mr. Stolberg were trying to imply that The Crisis has *not* championed "complete social desegregation and equality for the Negro." In our poor, unethical way we would have written that sentence: ". . . only if it champions a left economic program *as well as* complete social desegregation and equality for the Negro." That is, if we had wanted to be fair.

From Mr. Gannett

To the Editor of The Crisis:—I think that your June editorial, quoting extracts from Benjamin Stolberg's article on "Black Chauvinism" in the May 15 *Nation*, did less than justice to Mr. Stolberg's position. You quoted two sentences. "Under the DuBois banner hundreds of colored men and women went in for a liberal education," read the first. From that you jumped to Mr. Stolberg's conclusion: "In short, Booker T. Washington's 'good nigger' came to be led by Dr. DuBois's spoiled Negro;" and you angrily inquired whether Stolberg believed Negroes who sought classical, scientific and professional educations to be spoiled.

Between the two sentences that you quoted stood these: "In the brilliantly edited Crisis DuBois hailed every new M.A. and Ph.D. as a shock trooper for political freedom, social equality, and economic advance. Unfortunately a doctor of philosophy is far less likely to be a shock trooper than a shock absorber. And while Booker T. Washington's Negro masses were trained not to care for social equality, Dr. DuBois's militant intellectual Negro finally cut himself off from these masses by seeking preferential treatment in the white world as the New Negro. In short, etc." I think that those sentences make your rhetorical questions silly.

I do not fully agree with Mr. Stolberg's social philosophy, or with his contempt for a civil-rights program. I think he sometimes loses himself in distant Utopias, and coins epigrams by apt exaggeration. I also think him one of the most provocative social thinkers in America today with a social philosophy that cuts clean across all race lines. To suggest that his remarks about the effect of higher education on the New Negro are a "throwback to the philosophy to the older, rabid southern Bourbons," as you did, seems to me either totally to misunderstand or grossly to distort his argument.

Lewis Gannett

New York City

Thanks

To the Editor of The Crisis:—We congratulate you on the May issue of The Crisis for this year. This edition is the finest, most intelligent Crisis we have ever witnessed. The materials are very timely and very well discussed. Especially do we commend the excellent forum on "Which Way Out For The Negro?." The discourse on Ethiopia sheds much light on the present situation in Europe and East Africa. This issue sets a very high standard and we trust that through the maintenance of that standard your circulation will increase to an appreciable number. Of course, we realize that the standard of The Crisis is not exactly what it should be, but we notice through your effort that marked improvements are being accomplished.

Again congratulating you, we are,

The Liberian Research Society

By Alfred Rochester Green

Los Angeles, Calif.

Thanks

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Lady Simon has handed me your letter of the 6th instant. She understood that a letter was sent to you a few weeks ago telling you that she would unfortunately have to suspend her subscription to The Crisis at the present time.

This is not from any lack of interest, but simply owing to the necessity of curtailing expenses. Lady Simon would like me to add that the last few numbers have shown a very distinct advance both from the point of view of interest and in literary merit.

A. T. Lee, *Secretary*

London, W. 14, England.

Evans vs. Edwards

To the Editor of The Crisis:—In the March issue of The Crisis there appeared "Let Us Have More Like Mr. Sopkin," an article describing the situation of the unorganized garment workers in Chicago. Mr. Evans, an employee of Mr. Spokin, felt called upon to reply with "Thumbs Down on Unions."

May we ask the readers of The Crisis not to be diverted by nonessentials? In spite of Mr. Evan's attempt at defense, Mr. Sopkin remains as Miss Edwards characterized him—a symbol of employers whose objective is reduced cost of production at the expense of the employee; and as Mr. Sopkin's factory typifies, the bulk of Negro labor—under-paid, over-worked, and unorganized. Mr. Sopkin's opposition to the organization of his workers is so well-known that even Mr. Evans will not deny it. But the right to organize is no longer a matter for debate. Section 7A of the NIRA has given all workers "the right to organize and bargain collectively through representatives of their own choosing." And collective bargaining is the device of unionism to remove its members from the rank and file of the over-worked, and the under-paid.

Mr. Evans believes only in some distant milennium will there be sufficient organization at Sopkin's, so that the workers may engage in collective bargaining to raise their sub-union wage. Mr. Evans' wage must be very low indeed when he finds it outside the scope of his imagination to pay fifty cents in dues to an organization of his own choosing, to safeguard his own livelihood. As for the "white-armored Galahads" perhaps Mr. Evans may find it more practical to keep within scope of Section 7A and seek a representative from his own group of fellow workers, and limit "protection" to securing a living wage from the Sopkins of Industry. It really isn't a theory, Mr. Evans. Look around you. Collective bargaining works.

L. Kelly

Chicago, Ill.

To the Editor of The Crisis:—Miss Edwards may have had a date wrong here and there. Miss Edwards may have been wrong

when she stated Miss Jennie Lawrence was crowned "Queen of Queens"—but proving Miss Edwards wrong on these inconsequential premises does not weaken in the least her major premise that Ben Sopkins is conniving with Negro mis-leaders to exploit his employees, particularly his colored employees.

Sopkins first came to concentrated public attention in 1933. Women earning two and three dollars a week went on a strike for higher wages. There wasn't a Negro organization in Chicago that offered these underfed, unorganized, helpless women a helping hand. Friendless and alone, they became easy prey for Communistic influences. And then when they had joined hands with the only organization willing to give them aid, burly policemen began knocking them down with clubs.

That was a little too rough—and I then editing and publishing the ultra militant Chicago Review, sent out warning: "Knock down another woman out there fighting for bread—and we'll run these streets red with blood."

It was then that Sopkin and his advisors called in the "disinterested commission" which Mr. Evans so childlike says "thoroughly investigated the charges made during that disturbance and found them groundless."

The first thing wrong about the "disinterested commission" was that it was headed by a politician, Congressman Oscar DePriest. And the second thing wrong about it was that under his guidance it was hook, line and sinker for Sopkins.

Nearing the close of his argument, Mr. Evans, his head already in the sand praising Sopkins, completely buries his head and body in the sand when he impudently closes with: "When Miss Edwards can show us a sound reason for choosing the man who collects fifty cents a week because we work, rather than the man who pays us for working; when Miss Edwards can demonstrate her theory that union leaders are white-armored Galahads self-dedicated to our protection, then will we submit—maybe! But until that day, Miss Edwards, we are going to remain very militantly and very shamelessly opposed to anything smelling of unionism."

A few years ago in Chicago, cooks, waiters, bartenders, grocery boys, held jobs by hundreds but their pay was miserly. They were hired and fired at will. Then along came J. Levirt Kelly, a Negro, (so it does not necessarily follow that union organizers must be white) who organized them.

Today instead of being kicked around, thrown out of employment to suit an employer's convenience, instead of still working for starvation wages, instead of working 90 hours a week for $5 and tips, these people now enjoy salaries ranging from $20 to $45 per week, get a day off, work fewer hours, cannot be fired at will, and no longer stigmatized by feeling a flunky complex. That's what J. Levirt Kelly did with the Bartenders, Waiters, Waitresses and Cooks Union, Local No. 444 and Retail Clerks International Protective Association Local 901-B.

Maybe Kelly does collect fifty cents a week dues, but any worker who would not be willing to pay an organizer who can raise his salary from $8 and $9 a week to $20 and $45 per week for such a small sum surely needs his head examined. So, until Mr. Evans shows us where Sopkin's voluntary pay raises match pay raises forced on employers by Kelly, I, for one, shall be compelled to side with unionism and Miss Edwards.

PERRY THOMPSON

Chicago, Ill.

More About Sopkin

TO THE EDITOR OF THE CRISIS:—I am herewith writing a letter of protest to an article published in the March issue of your magazine entitled "Let Us Have More Like Mr. Sopkin" by Miss Thyra Edwards.

Evidently the policy of your magazine has changed or the facts presented to the public in that article were not verified. I feel that Miss Thyra Edwards has tried to impress upon the public untruths concerning B. Sopkin & Son and spread propaganda that will encourage the fight of the unions.

I know Mrs. Lawrence personally, have had the pleasure of working with Mr. Brascher on different projects and we all know the integrity of our ex-Congressman DePriest and I deem it an insult to the intelligence of these people in accusing them with being connected with an organization that would jeopardize the rights of the people.

The Sopkin employees have no inferiority or superiority complex. Being a Sopkin employee, I can truthfully say that the girls of our group hold envied positions with the firm. They are not illiterates, some being college graduates, school teachers and of different professions and capable of thinking for themselves, hence I don't think they should be ridiculed for being intelligent enough to not accept a menace such as the union into a firm that aims to please its employees first of all.

There are many other things I could say for I speak what I know only and must say a great injustice has been done to the people concerned and we cannot appreciate these radical statements coming from Miss Thyra Edwards.

ALICE WHITE

Chicago, Ill.

NOTE: With these letters, THE CRISIS closes the discussion on the B. Sopkin and Sons controversy.

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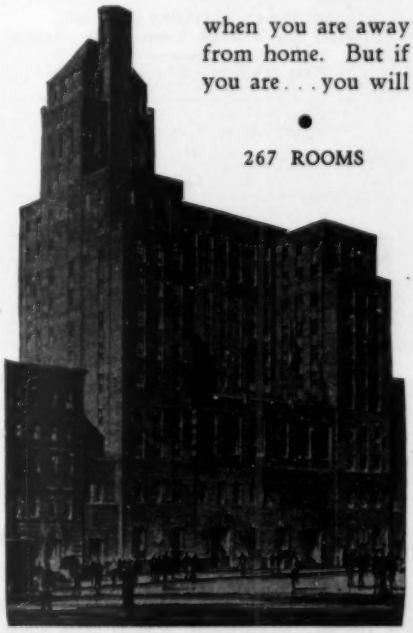

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in the hospital where I have plenty of time to read and see the need of cooperation. If I get out, which looks very promising, I will do something to help sell THE CRISIS and also to help build up the N.A.A.C.P. As I finish reading THE CRISIS, I tell my friends about it, and pass it along to someone else to read. Pray for me that I will get well and be of some service to you.

Please excuse this letter as I am not good at writing but wanted to tell you about your magazine.

N. S. JONES,
Herman Kiefer Hospital
Detroit, Mich.

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